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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

On the Circumſtances which led to a renewal of the War.—Engliſh Ships excluded from and detained in French Ports.—Objections to this Conduct of the French anſwered.—Hoſtile Spirit of Engliſh Newſpapers ſubſequent to the Peace of Amiens.—Of French Papers, conducted in London by French Emigrants.—Buonaparté confines his Complaints to the latter.—Theſe Complaints unattended to.—Proſecution of M. Peltier.—The Engliſh Miniſtry reſolve to retain the Cape of Good Hope.—Colonel Sebaſtiani's famous Miſſion to Egypt, Syria, &c. Fortunate Arrival, at the Moment the Engliſh were evacuating the Cape of Good Hope, by which the Forts were re-poſſeſſed, and the Engliſh Troops relanded.—Offenſive Partiality of the Engliſh to the French Princes and Emigrants in London.—Complaints of M. Otto.—Probable Reaſon why they were not regarded.

BEFORE we enter upon the renewal of the War, after a peace which had laſted only one year and about ſixteen days, it may be neceſſary to take a review of ſome circumſtances, that were urged, by both parties as aggravations, which, eventually, led to an open rupture. In the firſt place, complaints had

ariſen about the excluſion of our ſhipping from French ports, and the detention of others, almoſt ever ſince the Preliminaries were ſigned. The fact was this: that the French in detaining theſe veſſels, upon the charge of bringing contraband wares, acted according to an exiſting law, promulgated in the time of Robeſpierre: to this law we objected, as being made under the worſt period of the French Government; a very futile objection; becauſe, from a parity of reaſon, the French might object againſt our Navigation Act, which has ſecured to us what is called the ſovereignty of the ſeas; and, preciſely, becauſe this was paſſed by Oliver Cromwell's parliament, the worſt period of the Engliſh Government. Upon the whole, the Treaty of Amiens not having provided any remedy againſt this indiſpoſition of the French to trade with us; the framers of the Treaty had only to thank themſelves for the inconveniencies to which the country was afterwards expoſed.

But a ſpirit of hoſtility, not leſs acrimonious and implacable, was cheriſhed in this country, almoſt from the moment the peace was ſigned till the renewal of the rupture. Both the public papers, and many public men, under whoſe influence theſe papers were conducted, openly condemned the peace, and the makers of it, from the firſt; and, afterwards, proceeded to indulge the habit of conſtantly abuſing the Firſt Conſul, perſonally, and, very frequently, in terms, the rancour of which were only equalled by their coarſeneſs and malignity. Among theſe, a French paper, The *Courier de Londres*, publiſhed in London twice a week, and known to be conducted by French Emigrants, was that which gave the Firſt Conſul the greateſt offence: becauſe, as it was well

known that this paper, in particular, was circulated in La Vendée, and other French provinces, there was not the leaſt doubt of the deſigns of the writers to ſtir up a rebellion againſt the Conſular Government in favour of the old monarchy. To all the remonſtrances of Buonaparté, relative to theſe abuſes, the reply of Government was, in ſubſtance, that they could not interfere with the liberty of the preſs in reſpect to the newſpapers. But though ſuch a reply was a tacit acknowledgment of an abuſe, and the unwillingneſs or incapacity of the Engliſh Government to redreſs it, Buonaparté, waving the complaint againſt the *Engliſh papers*, urged it, afterwards, only againſt thoſe printed by *French* Emigrants in this country. He obſerved in effect, "If your laws prevent you from proceeding againſt the printers of *Engliſh* newſpapers, they need not prevent your interference with reſpect to *Frenchmen*. You have an Alien Act, by which you have ſent numbers of French away; ſend theſe men alſo out of the country, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." Still, no notice was taken of this newſpaper war; till M. Peltier, another French Emigrant, publiſhed a paper, ſo barefacedly an attempt to ſtir up ſome aſſaſſin to murder the Firſt Conſul, whom we had acknowledged as ſuch, that, to ſave appearances, a proſecution was inſtituted againſt Peltier, by the King's Solicitor-general, and he was tried by Lord Ellenborough, and caſt in the Court of King's Bench, on the 21ſt of February, 1803. But what was the conſequence? Mr. Peltier, as well as others, reſtrained his pen for a ſhort period, and then the rupture occurring between the two nations, they became as virulent and as vulgar

as before. For as the King's Meſſage was delivered to Parliament on the 8th day of March following, February the 21ſt, and judgment not being called for by the Attorney-general, at the uſual time, all further proceedings againſt M. Peltier ceaſed, of courſe, and he eſcaped any puniſhment whatever; very different from the fate of Lord George Gordon, and Mr. John Vint, the firſt of whom died in priſon; after having been caſt for a libel on the Queen of France; the latter was alſo impriſoned for a libel on the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

The Engliſh Government, on their part, had been by no means behind hand, in preparing for a new war many months before it actually broke out; for ſo early as October and November 1802, orders had been ſent out to retain the Cape of Good Hope, and the Weſt India iſlands, not then given up; and, as for Malta, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, it is doubtful whether the Britiſh miniſters ever intended to reſtore that, after they found the French would not ſuffer themſelves to be fettered by any new treaty of commerce. The known partiality of the Firſt Conſul for Egypt, and the conſideration that Malta was a kind of halfway-houſe, as it has been called, at length, induced the Britiſh Government to hazard every thing for that one object, not excepting the honour and credit of the nation.

It muſt be allowed, that, even during the peace, the French had been extremely active in the Eaſt, particularly in the Greek Iſlands and the Morea. As for Malta, our refuſal to give it up, had been the cauſe of murmurs at Paris the beſt part of the ſummer of 1802. On the 21ſt of July Buonaparté told Lord Whitworth, that the queſtion of peace or

war depended upon Malta; ſo that it may be doubted whether Colonel Sebaſtiani's famous miſſion to Egypt, &c. was determined upon, before the French Government was fully apprized of our intentions to keep Malta; for it was not till the 10th of December that Lord Hawkeſbury's agent wrote to him from Corfu; ſtating, that the Cornelie French frigate, having on board Colonel Horatio Sebaſtiani, had arrived there, charged with a public miſſion on the part of the French Republic; that he had landed, and called a meeting of the Three Orders, at the houſe of the Delegate; that he harangued them, and that his ſpeech was followed by a tumultuous cry of Liberty and Equality. This agent accuſes Sebaſtiani of uſing violent language; however, the following Addreſs to his Excellency the Delegate of Zanta, for its moderation, and judicious ſentiments upon politics, deſerves to be recorded:

"SIR,

"The Firſt Conſul, Buonaparté, has charged me to viſit theſe iſlands which compoſe your Republic, and to aſſure the inhabitants that he takes a lively intereſt in their proſperity. I know that the difference of political opinions divides this riſing Republic into various parties, and, that, without the wiſe meaſures taken by your Government, its tranquility will be deſtroyed. I could wiſh to make known to your adminiſtration, and fellow-citizens, how much the Firſt Conſul wiſhes to ſee a ſtop put to theſe inteſtine diviſions which afflict theſe iſlands.

"Your political independency has been guaranteed by France, Ruſſia, and the Sublime Porte. Theſe powerful nations, united together by the bonds of the trueſt friendſhip, are occupied, in concert with your moſt enlightened and moſt virtuous fellow-citizens, to give you a form of government ſuitable to your ſituation, and the genius of

your inhabitants. Wait with confidence and moderation the refult of thefe important operations, and be aſſured that you will ſee the end of your ills, and the beginning of your proſperity. All exaggerations of political opinions are inimical to the general proſperity: abſolute democracy, always tempeſtuous, ſacrifices to vain chimeras the ſecurity, the property, civil liberty, and, in ſhort, all that conſtitutes the happineſs of a ſtate: ariſtocracy, which is not moderated, is always tyrannical: and the elevation of a ſmall number of families is preferred to talents and to virtue. In order that a government may be proſperous, it is neceſſary that it ſhould have in its formation a happy combination of the advantages of different forms of government; the power and promptitude of monarchy, the vigilance and intelligence of ariſtocracy, and the vigour and elevation of democracy; that the citizens may find the ſecurity enjoyed under the firſt, the tranquillity of the ſecond, and the equality of the rights, fixed by the laws, which are found in the third.

"Recollect, that the man who forms a part of ſociety, only preſerves the liberty of doing that which is not prejudicial to the rights of others; and that equality only conſiſts in the exact execution of the laws, and in the protection which they afford to every member of the political body. As the quarantine prevents communication, I beg you will communicate this my Letter to all the authorities, and alſo to the principal inhabitants.

"I avail myſelf of this opportunity to aſſure you of the ſentiments of eſteem and conſideration which I entertain for your perſon."

M. Romieu, the French Commiſſary-general, and *chargé d'Affaires* to the Seven Iſlands, alſo wrote as follows, to the Vicar-general of the churches at Corfu:

"Mr. Vicar General,

"I haſten to inform you, with the greateſt joy, that I

have juſt received the expreſs orders of my government to place the church of the Roman religion in the Republic of the Seven Iſlands, under its ſpecial protection. I make this communication to the Preſident of the Senate. This proof of the good-will of the French towards this church will be a powerful motive, Mr. Vicar General, for addreſſing, through the faithful in your communion, the moſt ardent vows to heaven for the proſperity of the lives of its Conſuls, in the ſame way as the Roman churches practiſe in the French Republic.

" With the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration, Mr. Vicar General, I have the honour to ſalute you.

(Signed) " A. ROMIEU."

Reſpecting the report of Colonel Sebaſtiani, after he had viſited Syria and Egypt, it is of too much importance to be paſſed over.—It embraces ſuch a variety, and deſcribes ſcenes ſo very different from European manners, that, if it was not well authenticated, and corroborated by circumſtances, its aſſertions might well be called in queſtion. The following is an extract of the principal parts:

On the 16th of September laſt I embarked at Toulon, on board the Cornelie, and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. On the 1ſt of October I was preſented, with much pomp to the Pacha, who received me in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner. The exchange of the ratification of the Treaty took place, and the Italian Republic was formally acknowledged. I cauſed its flag to be hoiſted on the Commiſſarial Houſe of France, and it was ſaluted by the frigate, and the place, with 21 guns. It was not without difficulty that the Pacha conſented to acknowledge that Republic. He feared that all Italy was compriſed in this new Republic; and that, in conſequence, he would be ob-

liged to reſpect, indiſcriminately, all the ſhips of commerce of that part of Europe: this would deſtroy his marine. I gave him the neceſſary explanations, and, particularly, thoſe which related to the object of his apprehenſions; and he replied to me, "Certainly, I wiſh to be at peace with the Italian Republic, without too much injuring my intereſt; but, if it were ſtill more difficult, I would do it, ſince the great Buonaparté deſires it." The Pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterpriſing man, the friend of France. The political and adminiſtrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, miniſter of the Pacha. This man is full of ſagacity, and has even ſome notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preſerves for our country a predominant ſentiment of affection. On the 2d of October I ſet out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the ſame day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the Engliſh forces by land and ſea. I communicated to him the order of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria; and, if the Engliſh ſtill occupied that place, to demand a ſpeedy evacuation, and the execution of the Treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would ſhortly be effected; but, ſeeing that I inſiſted, and that I deſired an anſwer leſs vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he ſhould paſs the winter there. General Stuart is a man of middling talents: he has for his aid de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, but an enemy

of France, who has much influence over the General. I went, the ſame day, to ſee Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria, and the Capitan Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the cuſtomary compliments, and ſome language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them that the agents of French commerce would aſſemble in Egypt: this communication gave them the greateſt pleaſure, and they did not conceal that they ſaw with grief the ſtay of the Engliſh in the country. I told them, that their ſtay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I viſited the cheik El-Meſſiry; the ſame day I alſo viſited the cheik Ibrahim Muſti. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals, who came to viſit me. On the 20th I ſet out for Cairo, eſcorted by two Turkiſh officers and ſix French ſoldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate."

The Colonel viſited all the Turkiſh chiefs, the Cheiks, &c. at Grand Cairo, and other places; and, laſtly, Madam Murad Bey. But, though he had made peace between the Swedes and the Dey of Tripoli upon his firſt arrival there, he found that to make peace between the Beys in Egypt and the Turkiſh chiefs was not ſo eaſy a taſk; for the Turkiſh Government, though their forces had been beaten in five ſucceſſive battles, had ordered its troops to carry on a war of extermination.

"On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a ſoldier menaced me with his attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city teſtified highly their indignation againſt him, I did not ſtop at his menaces, and conti-

nued my route. A moment afterwards Muſtapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, paſſed before me, on horſeback; in paſſing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Chriſtian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the baſtinado after my departure. I could not be ſilent under ſuch an inſult; and, upon my return, I ſent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress: I declared to him, that I expected this man would come publicly to me, to aſk my pardon, place himſelf at my diſpoſal, and implore my pity. He found that Muſtapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwiſe; but I perſiſted, by declaring, formally, to the Pacha, that, if this reparation was not made in the manner I demanded it, I ſhould inſtantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Conſtantinople to ſtate my complaint: this produced all the effect I expected; and Muſtapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Roſetti, and he, publicly, aſked my pardon, and put himſelf at my diſpoſal. I told him, that my firſt intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the ſolicitation of the Pacha and M. Roſetti; but if, in future, he ſhould ever inſult the French, or thoſe in their ſuite, his deſtruction was inevitable. This affair, which was inſtantly ſpread throughout the whole city of Grand Cairo, produced the beſt effect. The ſame day an attempt was made to excite the Albaneſe againſt me: two letters, from Roſetta, written by Engliſh protegées, aſſerted, that there had been ſeen, upon the coaſts of Narolia, a French fleet of three hundred ſail; that we were marching againſt Conſtantinople; and that my viſit to Egypt had no

other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their danger. I made the merchant come to me who had received the letter; I made him give it me: I inſtantly ſent it to the Pacha himſelf; telling him that this abſurd news was ſpread to occaſion diſorders, and to endeavour to alter the good underſtanding between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falſhood of it with my head. The Pacha had diſcovered the ſnare, and did not fall into it: he even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart, which he had juſt received, and to which was joined an order of the day of the Firſt Conſul, when he commanded the army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in Auguſt 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Conſtantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to reſtore Cairo to its ſupremacy, and to deſtroy the Eaſtern empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to conſider the ſpirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant, to find that a ſoldier of one of the moſt polite nations of Europe ſhould degrade himſelf ſo far as to inſtigate aſſaſſination by means of ſuch an inſinuation. The Pacha treated me with the greateſt politeneſs, and the Engliſh at Cairo were witneſſes of the attachment of that city to the French. I received a deputation from the monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their Superior, to aſſure them of the friendſhip and protection of the Firſt Conſul. The monks of the Propaganda, at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection, which they enjoyed before the war, performed a *Te Deum* for the

proſperity of the Firſt Conſul; I aſſiſted at this ceremony, at which all the Chriſtians of Cairo were preſent. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the Chriſtians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks, who, during the reſidence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them: he not only promiſed to reſpect them but even to treat them with bounty.

"The 20th of November, in the morning, I diſpatched Citizens Joubert and Legrange to Degezzar-pacha, with a letter; in which I ſtated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the footing they ſtood before the war, and that I was charged by the Firſt Conſul to confer with him on theſe objects: I begged of him to anſwer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In ſome hours the meſſengers returned; Degezzar had received them coldly: he expreſſed his deſire to ſee me perſonally, but was unwilling to write. Everybody adviſed me not to ſee him without an aſſurance, written by himſelf; but this he appeared unwilling to do: but, notwithſtanding this cautionary advice, and his obſtinate refuſal to write, I determined to repair, myſelf, immediately to Acre. I went to the houſe of the Commiſſary of the Seven Iſles: very ſoon after, the drogoman of the Pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the Pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had on one ſide of him a piſtol, with four barrels, a ſmall air-gun, a ſabre, and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he aſked me, whether I was not per-

fuaded that our end is preordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our deſtiny. I anſwered, that I believed, as he did, in predeſtination: he continued to ſpeak for ſome time on that ſubject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of ſimplicity, but that, at the ſame time, he wiſhed to paſs for a man of wit, as well as for a juſt man. He repeated ſeveral times, "It is ſaid that Dgezzar is barbarous: this is falſe; he is but juſt and ſevere. Requeſt of the Firſt Conſul not to ſend me, as commiſſary of commercial relations, a lame or a blind man; becauſe ſuch a perſon would be ſure to ſay, that Dgezzar had made him ſo." Soon after he ſaid, "I deſire that the commiſſary you may ſend ſhall reſide at Seide, as that is the moſt commercial part in my dominions: beſides, it is not neceſſary he ſhould reſide here, where I ſhall be, myſelf, the French commiſſary, and ſhall take care that your countrymen be well received: I highly eſteem the French. In ſtature Buonaparté is ſmall, but he is, nevertheleſs, the greateſt of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wiſh to ſee him again." I made a few obſervations on the peace between France and the Porte; to which he anſwered: "Do you know why I have thus received and feel ſo much pleaſure at ſeeing you? it is, becauſe you come unauthorized by a firman, and without any orders from the Divan: I have the greateſt contempt for its blind Vizier. They ſay that Degezzar is a Boſnian, a man of ſtraw, and cruel to exceſs; but, nevertheleſs, I can ſtand the ordeal. I was once poor: my father had nothing to bequeathe me but courage: I have achieved my own elevation by dint of exertion: this, however, does not make me proud; and Dgezzar, perhaps,

will ſoon finiſh his career: not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed ſome of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of riſing their arms, &c. which he really executed with ſurpriſing adroitneſs and agility) but becauſe, moſt likely, God will have it ſo. The King of France, once ſo powerful, has periſhed! Nebuchadnezzar, the greateſt of all kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly!" &c. He made ſeveral other obſervations in this ſtrain, and, afterwards, ſpoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army: from the whole of his demeanour it could eaſily be ſeen, that he wiſhed to be on good terms with the Firſt Conſul, and that he ſtifled his reſentments.

I recommended to the favourable attention of Dgezzar the Chriſtians and the convents at Nazareth and Jeruſalem; he aſſured me that he would treat them with much regard: I did not forget the Mutuales, and received the ſame aſſurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently obſerved to me, that his word was, with him, more ſacred than treaties. Our converſation was interupted for ſome moments by a kind of military muſic, which he performed in a very agreeable ſtyle. The palace of Dgezzar is built with much taſte and elegance, but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are neceſſary: At the foot of the ſtaircaſe, however, is ſituated a priſon, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening: I ſaw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I obſerved twelve field-pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a ſight more hideous or repulſive than that of the miniſter of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out: the Pacha had cauſed one of his eyes to

be put out, and his nose and ears to be cut off! I saw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the same state! On beholding the domestics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himself in the resorts of brigands ready to assassinate: this monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of seeing, while at Acre, the Procurateur of the Propaganda, as well as that of the Holy Land: of the former, and of the Commissary of the Seven Isles, I collected some information, concerning the present state of Syria and the fortifications of Acre, of which I had seen but a a part; I was not suffered to visit them. The Procurateur assured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very useful: he hinted to me Dgezzar's earnest wishes to be on good terms with the First Consul: it is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French vessel which put into Acre shortly before my arrival. Dgezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months by a force of 9,000 men. The monks of the convent of Jaffa have withdrawn to Jerusalem. The 21st of November I quitted Acre; as the winds were unfavourable to a voyage to Jaffa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived the 4th of December: I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French Commissary, escorted by the officers of health. I soon learned that the Isle and the Republic were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of of the place was threatened. I assembled the mem-

bers of the conſtituted authorities, and the principal perſons of the town, at the houſe of the Governor, M. de Caliſhipode.—After having repreſented to them the intereſt which the Firſt Conſul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aſide that ſpirit of party which diſtracted them, and to wait, without paſſion and in ſilence, the new conſtitution. Theſe few words were received with enthuſiaſm, and all of them exclaimed, "France for ever! Buonaparté for ever!" Theſe cries were reiterated, on my going out, by more than four thouſand men, who followed me to the door. The Governor and the Ruſſian Commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned, by the French Commiſſary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were ſent to priſon, but that, on his ſolicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were ſet at liberty in the courſe of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the Governor brought there: I ſpoke to him ſtrongly on the irregularity of his conduct: he was alarmed, and promiſed that he would look upon thoſe who cried out, "Live the Firſt Conſul!" as good citizens, and ſhould, in future, treat them as ſuch. As he ſent, in the courſe of the night, a courier to his government, and I had reaſon to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the *Charge d'Affaires* of the Republic, at Corfu, to inform him what had paſſed, and that I was ſetting off for Meſſina. I do not ſtray from the truth in aſſuring you, that the iſlands of the Ionian Sea will declare themſelves French as ſoon as an opportunity ſhall offer itſelf."

Sebaſtiani concludes his Report with a very accurate detail of the Engliſh forces in Egypt, as well as thoſe of the Turks.

It may be expected that this Report of Sebaſtiani's was looked upon in England as a ſpecies of hoſtility; as was alſo the circumſtance of the French Government ſending commercial agents, or reſidents, to Dublin, to London, and other places, and their orders to obtain a knowledge of the different ſoundings, &c. But the truth is, that neither party were ſatisfied with the peace; and, as war ſuited the Britiſh much better than what they deemed only an armiſtice, they had been, for ſome time, preparing to put an end to it by an open rupture. It was to this ſpirit of caution and warineſs, that, notwithſtanding the contrariety of the orders previouſly given for giving up and retaining the French Weſt India iſlands and the Cape of Good Hope, the latter, after all, was, very fortunately, ſaved; for ſuch was the conſciouſneſs, on this ſide of the water, of the poſſibility of being charged with being the firſt to commit an actual breach of the peace, and thereby of incurring the odium of breaking the treaty in more inſtances than one, that thoſe who ſpoke the language of Government could not help congratulating themſelves, upon learning, that, at the moment the orders arrived for keeping poſſeſſion of the Cape, the greater part of the Engliſh garriſon were embarked on board the ſhips, and a formal ſurrender of ſome of the forts had taken place to the Dutch government: with conſiderable adroitneſs, however, the Engliſh commander in chief repoſſeſſed himſelf of the places given up, relanded his troops, and remained in poſſeſſion of the ſettlement till the counter-orders arrived. However, Pondicherry, in the Eaſt; Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago, in the Weſt Indies, were, for awhile, ſurrendered to and remained in the power of the French;

as well as the Cape of Good Hope, which for a ſhort time, alſo, remained under the power of the Batavian Government.

But, among other ſubjects of diſpleaſure on the part of the French Government, during this feveriſh year of peace, was the preference given and the partiality of the Engliſh to the French Princes, and a number of Royaliſts, who were penſioned and retained in this country. As at preſent, the dethroned monarch was ſtill ſtyled *King of France*, while the movements of the reſt of the family in this country were watched, and reported with as much ſedulity in the paraſitical Engliſh prints, as if they had formed a part of the royal family of Great Britain. Theſe proceedings were the objects of very ſerious complaint, through the medium of M. Otto, who expreſſed the wiſh of Buonaparté, that the French Princes ſhould be ſent to Warſaw, where the head of them then was; and that Georges, the aſſaſſin, and ſeveral other Engliſh penſioners, ſhould be ſent to Canada. But if we ſhould judge, by the reſult of this buſineſs, why the Engliſh miniſtry refuſed to comply with Buonaparté's requeſt; it would appear, as if they had a preſentiment that they ſhould, afterwards, want both the Princes and the Emigrants (as it is clear they actually did) to employ them in fruitleſs attempts, upon the continent, to aſſaſſinate the Chief Conſul and to overthrow his government. Having thus retraced the ſteps that led to this alarming criſis, we ſhall proceed to relate the reſult and termination of all further negotiation.

CHAPTER II.

Result of the Negotiations, in Consequence of the Retention of Malta by the English.—Strong Language of the First Consul on this Occasion.—A new Arrangement respecting that Island proposed by the English.—All Hopes of an Accommodation terminated by the Appearance of his Britannic Majesty's Declaration.—Reflections.

THE negotiations and the refusal of the English to give up Malta had now continued nearly a twelvemonth; when, in February 1803, the First Consul declared, to Lord Whitworth, that he would rather see the English in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than they should remain in that of Malta; and that its detention would be considered as a commencement of hostilities. In reply to this demand, England assured the French Government, that the difficulties respecting the guaranty had made it necessary for some fresh arrangement relative to that island; a communication for which purpose had been prepared, and should have been made, had not the publication of Colonel Sebastiani's Report, in which he informed the First Consul, that six thousand French were sufficient to take possession of all Egypt, imposed the necessity of demanding satisfactory explanation on that head, &c. It would be unnecessary to go into all the detail of the negotiation respecting that island, and the proposal of the English to keep it only during ten years—the taking of the island of Lampedosa in its room; and the *substantial security* demanded by England "for objects which might be materially endangered by the removal of the troops from thence."

Such were the conditions expreſſed by the Engliſh Government in the latter end of February: however, the King's Declaration, communicated to Parliament on the 8th of March, at once diſſolved every doubt on the ſubject, and put an end both to diſcuſſion and deluſion. This Document recapitulates various heads of complaint, and embraces ſo many objects, that it will be neceſſary to give it entire and at length.

DECLARATION.

"His Majeſty's earneſt endeavours for the preſervation of peace having failed of ſucceſs, he entertains the fulleſt confidence that he ſhall receive the ſame ſupport from his Parliament, and that the ſame zeal and ſpirit will be manifeſted by his people, which he has experienced on every occaſion, when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the eſſential intereſts of his dominions has been endangered.

"During the whole courſe of the negotiations, which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his Majeſty and the French Republic, it was his Majeſty's ſincere deſire, not only to put an end to the hoſtilities which ſubſiſted between the two countries, but to adopt ſuch meaſures, and to concur in ſuch propoſitions, as might effectually contribute to conſolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The ſame motives by which his Majeſty was actuated during the negotiations for peace have, ſince, invariably governed his conduct. As ſoon as the Treaty of Amiens was concluded, his Majeſty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpoſe of legal redreſs; all ſequeſtrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been impoſed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every reſpect, on the ſame footing, with regard to commerce and intercourſe, as the inhabitants of any other ſtate in amity with his Majeſty with which there exiſted no treaty of commerce.

"To a ſyſtem of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French Government affords the moſt ſtriking contraſt. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his Majeſty's ſubjects during the war have been enforced with increaſed ſtrictneſs and ſeverity; violence has been offered, in ſeveral inſtances, to their veſſels and their property, and in no caſe has juſtice been afforded to thoſe who may have been aggrieved in conſequence of ſuch acts, nor has any ſatisfactory anſwer been given to the repeated repreſentations made by his Majeſty's miniſters or ambaſſador at Paris. Under ſuch circumſtances, when his Majeſty's ſubjects were not ſuffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French Republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French Government had recourſe to the extraordinary meaſure of ſending over to this country a number of perſons, for the profeſſed purpoſe of reſiding in the moſt conſiderable ſeaport towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or conſuls. Theſe perſons could have no pretenſions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being ſo acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to ſuch a ſituation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty, and as no treaty, of that deſcription, was in exiſtence between his Majeſty and the French Republic.

"There was, conſequently, too much reaſon to ſuppoſe that the real object of their miſſion was by no means of a commercial nature; and this ſuſpicion was confirmed, not only by the circumſtance that ſome of them were military men, but by the actual diſcovery, that ſeveral of them were furniſhed with inſtructions to obtain the ſoundings of the harbours, and to procure military ſurveys of the places where it was intended they ſhould reſide. His Majeſty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their reſpective places of deſtination, and preſented to the French Government the neceſſity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied, that the circumſtances under which they

were ſent, and the inſtructions which were given to them, ought to be conſidered as deciſive indications of the diſpoſitions and intentions of the Government by whom they were employed.

"The conduct of the French Government, with reſpect to the commercial intercourſe between the two countries, muſt, therefore, be conſidered as ill ſuited to a ſtate of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in thoſe which immediately concern his Majeſty's dominions, appears to have been altogether inconſiſtent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and juſtice. His Majeſty had entertained hopes, in conſequence of the repeated aſſurances, and profeſſions of the French Government, that they might have been induced to adopt a ſyſtem of policy, which, if it had not inſpired other powers with confidence, might, at leaſt, have allayed their jealouſies. If the French Government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to ſuch a ſyſtem; if their diſpoſitions had proved to be eſſentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the ſituation in which a new government muſt be placed after ſo dreadful and extenſive a convulſion as that which has been produced by the French Revolution. But his Majeſty, has, unfortunately, had too much reaſon to obſerve and to lament that the ſyſtem of violence, aggreſſion, and aggrandiſement, which characteriſed the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little diſguiſe ſince its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland againſt the will, and in defiance of remonſtrances of the Batavian Government, and in repugnance of the letter of three ſolemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiſs nation, in defiance of the Treaty of Luneville, which had ſtipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chooſe their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions

of France; Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the Iſland of Elba, without allotting any proviſion to the King of Sardinia, whom they have deſpoiled of the moſt valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a ſolemn engagement to the Emperor of Ruſſia, to attend to his intereſts, and to provide for his eſtabliſhment. It may, indeed, with truth, be aſſerted, that the period which has elapſed ſince the concluſion of the Definitive Treaty has been marked with one continued ſeries of aggreſſion, violence, and inſult on the part of the French Government.

"In the month of October laſt his Majeſty was induced, in conſequence of the earneſt ſolicitation of the Swiſs Nation, to make an effort, by a repreſentation to the French Government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This repreſentation was couched in the moſt temperate terms; and meaſures were taken by his Majeſty for aſcertaining, under the circumſtances which then exiſted, the real ſituation and wiſhes of the Swiſs Cantons, as well as the ſentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His Majeſty learned, however, with the utmoſt regret, that no diſpoſition to counteract theſe repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence was manifeſted by any of the powers moſt immediately intereſted in preventing them; and his Majeſty, therefore, felt, that, with reſpect to theſe objects, his ſingle efforts could not be expected to produce any conſiderable advantage to thoſe in whoſe favour they might be exerted.

"It was about this time that the French Government firſt diſtinctly advanced the principle, that his Majeſty had no right to complain of the conduct, or interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unqueſtionably founded upon the ſame principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the aſſumption of the ſtate of poſſeſſions, and of engagements

ſubſiſting at the time of its concluſion; and if that ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, ſo as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change ſo made may be conſidered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itſelf, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand ſatisfaction or compenſation for any ſubſtantial difference which ſuch acts may have effected in their relative ſituations; but, whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be conſidered as founded, there, is indiſputably, a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or reſtrained by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all ſovereigns and ſtates have been accuſtomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been ſilent. The Treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not, therefore, aſſume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not ſpecified in its ſtipulation, much leſs does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The juſtice of the cauſe is, alone, a ſufficient ground to warrant the interpoſition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may ariſe between other ſtates, and the application and extent of that juſt interpoſition is to be determined ſolely by conſiderations of prudence. Theſe principles can admit of no diſpute; but if the new and extraordinary pretenſions advanced by the French Government, to exclude his Majeſty from any right to interfere with reſpect to the concerns of other powers, unleſs they made a ſpecific part of the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, was that which it was poſſible to maintain, thoſe powers would have a right, at leaſt, to claim the benefit of this principle in every caſe of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe muſt ſurely then be excited by the declarations

of the French Government, that, in the event of hoſtilities, theſe very powers, who were no parties to the Treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonſtrances of his Majeſty in their behalf, are, nevertheleſs, to be made the victims of a war, which is alledged to ariſe out of the ſame treaty, and are to be ſacrificed in a conteſt, which they not only have not occaſioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

"His Majeſty judged it moſt expedient, under the circumſtances which then affected Europe, to abſtain from a recurrence to hoſtilities, on account of the views of ambition, and acts of aggreſſion, manifeſted by France on the continent; yet, an experience of the character and diſpoſitions of the French Government could not fail to impreſs his Majeſty with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of increaſed vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the intereſts of his people.

"Whilſt his Majeſty was actuated by theſe ſentiments, he was called upon by the French Government to evacuate the Iſland of Malta. His Majeſty had manifeſted, from the moment of the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty, an anxious diſpoſition to carry into full effect the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens relative to that iſland. As ſoon as he was informed that the election of a Grand Maſter had taken place, under the auſpices of the Emperor of Ruſſia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories aſſembled at St. Peterſburg, to acknowledge the perſon whom the Court of Rome ſhould ſelect out of thoſe who had been named by them, to be Grand Maſter of the Order of St. John, his Majeſty propoſed to the French Government, for the purpoſe of avoiding any difficulties which might ariſe in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when, in the month of Auguſt, the French Government applied to his Majeſty, to permit the Neapolitan troops to be ſent to the Iſland of Malta, as a preliminary meaſure for pre-

venting any unneceſſary delay, his Majeſty conſented, without heſitation, to this propoſal, and gave directions for the admiſſion of the Neapolitan troops into the iſland. His Majeſty had thus ſhewn his diſpoſition, not only to throw no obſtacle in the way of the execution of the Treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majeſty, cannot, however, admit, that, at any period ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the ſtipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the Iſland of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French Government, ſeveral of the moſt important ſtipulations of the arrangement reſpecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a Grand Maſter had not been carried into effect. The 10th Article had ſtipulated, that the independence of the iſland ſhould be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like acceſſion on the part of the other powers ſpecified in the article. The Emperor of Ruſſia had refuſed his acceſſion, except on the condition that the Malteſe *langue* ſhould be abrogated; and the King of Pruſſia had given no anſwer whatever, to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the exiſtence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the conſtitution of the Order, ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Peace. It was to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, that his Majeſty was, by the firſt ſtipulation of the 10th Article, bound to reſtore the Iſland of Malta. The Order is defined to conſiſt of thoſe *langues*, which were in exiſtence at the time of the concluſion of the Treaty; the three French *langues* having been aboliſhed, and a Malteſe *langue* added to the inſtitution. The Order, conſiſted, therefore,

at that time, of the following *langues*, viz.: the *langues* of Arragon, Caſtile, Germany, Bavaria, and Ruſſia. Since the concluſion of the Definitive Treaty, the *langues* of Arragon and Caſtile, have been ſeparated from the Order, by Spain; a part of the Italian *langue* has been aboliſhed by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is ſtrong reaſon to believe that it has been in contemplation, to ſequeſtrate the property of the Bavarian *langue*, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Ruſſian *langues* within the dominions of the Emperor.

"Under theſe circumſtances, the Order of St. John cannot now be conſidered as that body, to which, according to the ſtipulation of the Treaty, the iſland was to be reſtored; and the funds indiſpenſibly neceſſary for its ſupport, and for the maintenance of the independence of the iſland, have been nearly, if not wholly ſequeſtered. Even if this had ariſen from circumſtances which it was not in the power of any of the Contracting Parties to the Treaty to control, his Majeſty, would, nevertheleſs, have had a right to defer the evacuation of the iſland by his forces, until ſuch time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preſervation of the independence of the Order and of the iſland. But if theſe changes have taken place in conſequence of any acts of the other parties to the Treaty; if the French Government ſhall appear to have proceeded upon a ſyſtem of rendering the Order, whoſe independence they had ſtipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his Majeſty's right to continue in the occupation of the iſland, under ſuch circumſtances, will hardly be conteſted. It is indiſputable, that the revenues of the two Spaniſh *langues* have been withdrawn from the Order by his Catholic Majeſty; a part of the Italian *langue* has, in fact, been aboliſhed by France, through the unjuſt annexation of Piedmont, and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The Elector of Bavaria has been inſtigated by the French Government, to

ſequeſtrate the property of the Order within his territories; and it is certain, that they have not only ſanctioned, but encouraged the idea of the propriety of ſeparating the Ruſſian *langues* from the remainder of the Order.

"As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in ſome inſtances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus deſtroyed its means of ſupporting its independence, it is to thoſe governments, and not to his Majeſty, that the non-execution of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens muſt be aſcribed.

"Such would be the juſt concluſion if the 10th Article of that Treaty were conſidered as an arrangement by itſelf: it muſt be obſerved, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the ſtipulations of which muſt, upon a principle common to all treaties, be conſtrued as having a reference to each other.

"His Majeſty was induced, by the Treaty of Peace, to conſent to abandon, and to reſtore to the Order of St. John, the Iſland of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition (which muſt, neceſſarily, be ſuppoſed to have had conſiderable influence with his Majeſty, in inducing him to make ſo important a conceſſion) was, the acquieſcence of the French Government in an arrangement for the ſecurity of the Levant, by the 8th and 9th Articles in the Treaty, ſtipulating the integrity of the Turkiſh Empire and the independence of the Ionian Iſlands. His Majeſty has, however, ſince learned, that the French Government have entertained views hoſtile to both theſe objects, and that they have even ſuggeſted the idea of a partition of the Turkiſh Empire. Theſe views muſt now be manifeſt to all the world, from the official publication of the Report of Colonel Sebaſtiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents, in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Iſlands, and from the diſtinct admiſſion of

the First Consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth. His Majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French Government to violate those articles of the Treaty of Peace which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire and of the Ionian Islands; and, consequently, he would not have been justified in evacuating the Island of Malta without receiving some other security which might equally provide for these important objects: his Majesty, accordingly, feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the Treaty of Peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that Treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the Island of Malta.

"Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French Government to his Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

"If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French Government since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, have, in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his Majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that Government to his crown and his people.

The Report of Colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This Paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and, indeed, bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the Government to which it was addressed, who, thereby, have given it their express sanction.

This Report had been publiſhed a very ſhort time, when another indignity was offered to this country, in the Communication of the Firſt Conſul of France to the Legiſlative Body: in this Communication he preſumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magiſtrate of that country, "That Great Britain cannot, ſingly, contend againſt the power of France;" an aſſertion as unfounded as it is indecent, diſproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by thoſe of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an aſſertion, advanced in the moſt ſolemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be conſidered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his Majeſty and to a brave and powerful people; who are both willing and able to defend his juſt rights, and thoſe of their country, againſt every inſult and aggreſſion.

"The conduct of the Firſt Conſul to his Majeſty's ambaſſador, at his audience, in preſence of the miniſters of moſt of the ſovereigns and ſtates of Europe, furniſhes another inſtance of provocation on the part of the French Government, which it would be improper not to notice on the preſent occaſion; and the ſubſequent explanation of this tranſaction may be conſidered as having the effect of aggravating, inſtead of palliating, the affront.

"At the very time when his Majeſty was demanding ſatisfaction and explanation on ſome of the points above-mentioned the French Miniſter at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the inſertion, in a Hamburgh paper, of a moſt groſs and opprobrious libel againſt his Majeſty; and, when difficulties were made reſpecting the inſertion of it, he availed himſelf of his official character, of Miniſter of the French Republic, to require the publication of it, by order of his Government, in the Gazette of the Senate of that town. With this requiſition ſo made, the Senate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free ſtate made the inſtrument, by the menace of the French Government, of pro-

pagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the moſt offenſive and unfounded calumnies againſt his Majeſty and his Government. His Majeſty might add to this liſt of indigniries the requiſition, which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and conſtitution of his country ſhould be changed, relative to the liberty of the preſs: his Majeſty might, likewiſe, add, the calls which the French Government have, on ſeveral occaſions, made upon him to violate the laws of hoſpitality, with reſpect to perſons who had found an aſylum within his dominions, and againſt whoſe conduct no charge whatever has, at any time, been ſubſtantiated. It is impoſſible to reflect on theſe different proceedings, and the courſe which the French Government have thought proper to adopt reſpecting them, without the thorough conviction, that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a ſyſtem, which has been adopted for the purpoſe of degrading, vilifying, and inſulting, his Majeſty and his Government.

"Under all theſe inſults and provocations, his Majeſty, not without a due ſenſe of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain ſatisfaction and redreſs, while he has neglected no means, conſiſtent with his honour and the ſafety of his dominions, to induce the Government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, abſolutely neceſſary for the future tranquillity of Europe: his efforts, in this reſpect, have proved abortive; and he has, therefore, judged it neceſſary to order his ambaſſador to leave Paris. In having recourſe to this proceeding, it has been his Majeſty's object to put an end to the fruitleſs diſcuſſions which have too long ſubſiſted between the two Governments, and to cloſe a period of ſuſpenſe peculiarly injurious to the ſubjects of his Majeſty.

"But, though the provocations which his Majeſty has received might entitle him to larger claims than thoſe which he has advanced; yet, anxious to prevent calamities, which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is ſtill

willing, as far as is conſiſtent with his own honour and the intereſts of his people, to afford every facility to any juſt and honourable arrangement, by which ſuch evils may be averted: he has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that, notwithſtanding all the changes which have taken place ſince the Treaty of Peace; notwithſtanding the extenſion of the power of France, in repugnance to that Treaty, and to the ſpirit of peace itſelf; his Majeſty will not avail himſelf of theſe circumſtances to demand in compenſation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which ſatisfaction ſhall be given to him for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and ſubſtantial ſecurity afforded againſt further encroachments on the part of France.

"His Majeſty has thus, diſtinctly and unreſervedly, ſtated the reaſons of thoſe proceedings to which he has found himſelf compelled to reſort. He is actuated by no diſpoſition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other ſtate, by no projects of conqueſt and aggrandizement; but ſolely by a ſenſe of what is due to the honour of his crown and the intereſts of his people, and by an anxious deſire to obſtruct the further progreſs of a ſyſtem, which, if not reſiſted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

Weſtminſter, March 8.

Reſpecting the aſſertions made in the King's Meſſage; viz. "That conſiderable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland," it ſeems there was no occaſion to wait for their contradiction from France; for, when the Meſſage was taken into conſideration, both Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham conceived that the Houſe was never more completely in the dark upon the ſubject which then called for another armament. Mr. Fox, with a preſentiment, which cannot but appear peculiarly ſtrik-

ing, concluded his ſpeech with the following remarkable words.—"That his Majeſty's miniſters would do well to conſider the tendency of their meaſures; if, through their negligence, raſhneſs, or ill-concerted plans, they involved the country in war at this important period, he ſhould pronounce the preſent adminiſtration the *moſt fatal and deſtructive* that ever directed the affairs of Great Britain"

In fact, the very outſet of the Meſſage was poſitively controverted in the Houſe of Commons, with ſtrict truth, in Sir Henry Mildmay's motion for a Naval Inquiry; when Captain Markham, one of the lords of the admiralty, aſſerted, that he deſired to be underſtood, "that, in all parts of the world, we had a naval force much more than adequate to cope with the force of any power in Europe; and that, at home, it was amply ſufficient to meet any French force; which, indeed, conſiſted of nothing better than fiſhing boats, and exiſted only in the minds of a few gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe." Thus, in the face of the nation, and of all Europe, was this declaration made; which left the public, juſtly, to conclude, that the alleged cauſes of our arming did not exiſt.

However, from March till May, notwithſtanding this Meſſage, there were ſome faint hopes of an amicable termination of the "important diſcuſſions" alluded to; when, on the 16th of this month, a Meſſage was preſented to both Houſes of Parliament, from his Majeſty, informing them, that he had recalled his ambaſſador from Paris, and that the French ambaſſador had quitted London.

In the Lords, alſo, the reaſons aſſigned by miniſters for going to war, were ably conteſted. The Marquis of Lanſdown, thought the pretended ag-

greſſions of France, in Switzerland, rather belonged to Auſtria, and the continental powers, than to us: and he thought in that, as well as in the American war, that the ſpirit of reconciliation would do more than the force of arms. Lord King, thought, Malta by no means an object worth going to war; and his Lordſhip, with the Duke of Norfolk, were in the minority of ten, for an amendment to the Addreſs voted to his Majeſty in anſwer to his Meſſage. Still Mr. Fox was the moſt able among thoſe who diſputed the veracity of miniſters, and combated their arguments for war. The deſire of Buonaparté to be poſſeſſed of Egypt, he contended, was not in itſelf a ſufficient ground for war, or, otherwiſe, we ſhould never have been at peace with the Houſe of Bourbon. He compared our enormous acquiſitions, by force and fraud, in India, with the aggrandizement of the French upon the continent; and inſiſted, that we had no more right to complain of France than ſhe had to complain of us. As to Malta, he ſaid, it was known that Ruſſia would have guaranteed it upon certain conditions; but we chooſe to keep it to ourſelves for ten years. Reſpecting the miſſion of Sebaſtiani to Egypt, he obſerved, there had been hardly a year of peace ſince the Treaty of Utrecht, in which the old French Government had not ſome ſuch miſſionary at work; and that, if war was neceſſary on that ground, Europe would never know a ſingle year of peace! All theſe obſervations being made before the anſwer of the Firſt Conſul to our King's Declaration, was received, we have only mentioned, to ſhew, that an apology from France was ſcarcely wanted, after it had been thus made for her by ſome of the ſoundeſt patriots, and greateſt ſtateſmen in England.

CHAPTER III.

France and England prepare for Operations in Europe and the Indies.—The Eſtabliſhed and Supplementary Militia called out.—Admiral Linois ſails from Breſt.—The French occupy Tarentum, &c. in Italy.—General Mortier advances to take Poſſeſſion of Hanover, where the People refuſe to riſe in a Maſs to ſupport the Duke of Cambridge.—Article ordered to be inſerted in the Hamburgh Paper, by the French Government.—Tranſactions at Paris, &c.—Converſation between the Firſt Conſul, and Lord Whitworth.

THE Meſſage was no ſooner known in France than acted upon: both nations, it was obſerved, began to develope their reſpective means of attack and annoyance. The Iſland of Malta, the immediate cauſe of the war, was ſo ſtrong from its fortifications, and ſo well garriſoned, that France could not entertain the ſlighteſt hope of its conqueſt by force; of courſe, the line of hoſtilities which each nation meant to purſue, was foreſeen from their relative poſitions. Great Britain, miſtreſs of the ſeas, would naturally direct her principal attack againſt the colonies and maritime poſſeſſions of France, while France, being equally powerful by land, was equally as able to obſtruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain in Italy, Germany, and every country where her armies could penetrate.

The Britiſh Government loſt no time in ſending a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to the Weſt Indies.

The defenſive force of the country was alſo called forth in the Supplementary, and the Regular Militia, and by accepting the ſervices of a conſiderable number of volunteer corps: and the exertions of Government then appeared to be ſo entirely confined to meaſures of *defence*, that even the enemy obſerved, "It was ſtrange that Great Britain ſhould ſeek a war, merely to ſhew that ſhe could put herſelf into a ſtrong poſition of reſiſtance. However, that it was not to be a mere defenſive ſyſtem which this country was to follow, was ſoon evinced, by the reduction of the Iſlands of St. Lucia and Tobago, beſides, preparations for attacking the other poſſeſſions of France, in different quarters. France, on the other hand was not inactive. A few days after the date of the King's Meſſage, Admiral Linois ſailed from Breſt for the Eaſt Indies, with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable land force, to reinforce the Cape, and ſtrengthen the French garriſons. In Europe, as might be expected, the French armies were immediately put in motion. The army of Italy ſtrongly reinforced, puſhed on to Tarentum, and threatened to occupy all the ſtrong poſts in the kingdom of Naples, bordering on the Adriatic. The French generals, charged with the execution of theſe orders, expreſſed in their proclamations, that it was neceſſary, while England retained Malta, France ſhould occupy theſe important poſitions.

On the ſide of Germany the French were not leſs active: M. Talleyrand had already ſtated, in plain terms, to Lord Whitworth, that, in the event of hoſtilities, it was natural that a conſiderable army ſhould be formed in Holland; and though his Majeſty's poſitive Declaration of War was not laid be-

fore Parliament till the 18th of May, on the 25th General Mortier, from his head quarters at Coeverden, ſummoned the Hanoverian Electorate to ſurrender to his army.—But, even in this ſtep, it was undeniable that Buonaparté wiſhed to leave an opening for peace; as General Mortier formally profeſſed, that he wiſhed to occupy that country merely as a pledge for the reſtoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens; further aſſerting, that it was only for the purpoſe of compelling the King of England to maintain the Peace of Amiens that he had ordered his troops to occupy that portion of Germany in which the preſent reigning Family of England were particularly intereſted.—But, though the Duke of Cambridge was ſent over to Hanover as Commander in Chief, and proclamations were publiſhed in his name, and that of the Hanoverian Government, calling upon all the inhabitants, able to bear arms, to defend their country to the laſt drop of blood, the people were too wary to be thus perſuaded to ſacrifice themſelves to the ſuperiority of France, in behalf of a government that had neglected them. It was to no purpoſe that the Duke of Cambridge told them, he was ready to ſhare all their dangers: they ſeemed rather to liſten to General Mortier, who informed them, in his Addreſs, that "he had heard of proclamations, dictated by the blindeſt fury, for the purpoſe of drawing them into a conteſt to which they ought to be ſtrangers; and deſired them to preſerve themſelves from an aggreſſion equally abſurd and uſeleſs, of which they alone would be the victims." To this advice the Hanoverian citizens wiſely liſtened, and poſitively refuſed to oppoſe the French, or riſe in a maſs, as the mad miniſters of England wiſhed to per-

ſuade them. The military made ſome oppoſition, but it proved trifling and of no avail; in the end, they were obliged to capitulate, and enter into an engagement, not to ſerve againſt France, or her Allies, till regularly exchanged.

But, as Buonaparté never neglected any moral means for annoying his enemies and defeating their purpoſes, he cauſed the following Article to be inſerted in "The Hamburgh *Correſpondenten*," a paper printed in that city in the German language:

Paris, March 15.

"For ſome months a war of newſpapers, and of the preſs, has been kept up between France and England: this ſeemed merely the dying embers of an extinguiſhed conflagration, the laſt conſolation of a deſperate party, the food of ſome low paſſions and a few hungry ſcribblers: the French Government was far from attaching importance to ſuch matters. Notwithſtanding ſome difficulties in the complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens they ſtill believed they might rely on the good faith of the Britiſh Government, and directed their attention ſolely to the re-eſtabliſhment of the colonies. Relying upon the ſacredneſs of treaties, they ſecurely diſperſed the remains of the French naval force, which had been given a prey to the Engliſh fleet. In this ſituation, ſuddenly appeared a ſolemn Meſſage from the cabinet of St. James's, and informed all Europe that France was making conſiderable preparations in the ports of Holland and France; an addreſs was voted by parliament, promiſing to the King of England ſuch extraordinary means of defence, as the ſecurity of the Britiſh empire, and the honour of the three crowns, might require.

"From the ſudden appearance of this Meſſage, people doubted whether it was the effect of treachery, of lunacy, or of weakneſs. Let any one caſt his eyes over the ports of France and Holland, where he will find only detached

naval preparations destined for the colonies, and consisting only of one or two line of battle ships, and a few frigates. On the other hand, let him look at the ports of England, filled with a formidable naval force; on such a review, one would be tempted to believe that the Message of the King of England was mere irony, if such a farce were not unworthy the majesty of a government. If one considers the influence of factions in so free a country, one might suppose that the King of England had only had the weakness to yield, if weakness were compatible with the first quality of a king. In short, no rational motives remain to which it can be ascribed, except bad faith—except a sworn enmity to the French nation—except perfidy, and the desire of openly breaking a solemn treaty, for the sake of advantages which will be maintained, and the sacrifice of which the honour of France and the faith of treaties forbid.

"When a man reads this Message, he thinks himself transported to the times of those treaties which the Vandals made with the degenerate Romans, when force usurped the place of right, and when, with a hasty appeal to arms, they insulted the antagonist they meant to attack. In the present state of civilization, there is a respect which a great monarch—which a polished people owe to themselves, were that respect no more than to seek a plausible pretext for an unjust war. But in this instance every thing is precipitate, and repugnant to decency and to justice. An eternal war would succeed a dreadful contest; and the more unjust the attack, the more irreconcileable would be its animosities.

"Such a novelty will, doubtless, excite the disapprobation of Europe. While even the English, whose national pride had not entirely blinded them, sighed at this prospect; did the *Times* call the Peace of Amiens an armistice, and, in doing so, passed the severest satire on the Government it defended; and the rapid fall of the national funds is the

firſt prelude to the misfortunes which may follow, as the revenge due for the wound given to all ſocial rights.

"The French are leſs intimidated than irritated by the threats of England: they have neither been diſpirited by their reverſes, nor elated by their victories; in a war to which there appeared no termination, they ſaw all Europe confederated againſt them. Their conſtancy—their courage, and the prompt activity of their government, brought it to a concluſion. *This* war would have a different object. France would contend for the liberty of the ſtates of Europe, and the ſacredneſs of their treaties; and if the Engliſh Government be determined to make it a national war, perhaps her boaſted formidable naval ſtrength would not be ſufficient to decide the reſult, and to ſecure the victory.

"The French, ſtrong in the juſtice of their cauſe, and in the confidence they repoſe in their Government, do not dread the new expences and new ſacrifices which ſuch a war might render neceſſary. Their ſyſtem of finance is more ſimple, and leſs artificial than that of London, and ſo much the more ſolid. It all lies in their ſoil and in their courage.

"On the firſt news of the Engliſh Meſſage, all eyes were turned to the Cabinet of the Thuilleries. Its moſt trifling motions received a character of importance; its moſt unpremeditated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the aſſembly for the preſentation of foreigners, which Madame Buonaparté holds once a month. Every one was prepared to draw ſome inferences from it. It was as ſplendid as uſual. The Firſt Conſul made his appearance, and ſaid, on his entrance, to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, who was ſtanding beſide M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The King of England ſays 'that France is making immenſe naval preparations.' He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo, and the colonies.

With regard to the ports of Holland, to which the Meſſage likewiſe alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under General Victor, and all Europe knows its deſtination is for Louiſiana. The King ſays farther, that between the Cabinets of Paris and London, differences continue. I know of none. It is true, that England ought to have evacuated Malta, and Malta is not evacuated; and, as his Britannic Majeſty has bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn treaty ever entered into, it is impoſſible to doubt of the ſpeedy evacuation of that iſland; and," added the Firſt Conſul, "Thoſe who would attempt to frighten the French people, ſhould know that it is poſſible to kill, but not to intimidate them."

"During the courſe of the evening, when the Firſt Conſul happened to be near M. Markoff, he ſaid to him, half aloud, "That the Britiſh miniſtry wiſhed to keep Malta for five years more. Such a propoſal was inſulting, and no treaties ſhould be entered into, which it was not reſolved to obſerve." At the concluſion of the aſſembly, when the Engliſh Ambaſſador was about to retire, the Firſt Conſul ſaid to him, "Madame, the Ducheſs of Dorſet has ſpent the unpleaſant part of the year at Paris. It is my ſincere wiſh that ſhe may alſo ſpend the agreeable ſeaſon. But if it ſhould happen that we muſt go to war, the reſponſibility is excluſively with thoſe who deny the validity of their own contracts, ſince they refuſe to obſerve treaties which they had concluded."'

It was through the medium of the *Moniteur*, that we firſt learned, for a certainty, that Alexandria had been evacuated by the Engliſh, on the 17th of March; and that Elfi Bey had embarked as Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the rebel Beys in Egypt, to the Court of London. About the ſame time we learned from Paris, that the Firſt Conſul, driving a phæton with four horſes in hand, was thrown from his ſeat in the park of St. Cloud. The ſhock was violent;

but he lighted on the grafs, and experienced no injury except a flight bruife in the hand In the meanwhile the actual commencement of the war, created no particular anxiety among the Parifians, as their minds had been in a great meafure prepared for it by a variety of circumftances, particularly the Converfation between Lord Whitworth and the Firft Conful, of which it feems the moft accurate account was given in the following Letter from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkefbury, dated

Paris, Feb. 21st. 1803.

"My Lord,

"My laft Difpatch, in which I gave your Lordfhip an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was fcarcely gone, when I received a Note from him, informing me that the Firft Conful wifhed to converfe with me, and defired I would come to him at the Thuilleries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his Cabinet, with tolerable cordiality; and, after talking on different fubjects for a few minutes, he defired me to fit down, as he himfelf did, on the other fide of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it neceffary, after what had paffed between me and M. de Talleyrand, that he fhould, in the moft clear and authentic manner, make known his fentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his Majefty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himfelf, than through any medium whatever. He faid, that it was a matter of infinite difappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, inftead of being followed by conciliation and friendfhip, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increafing jealoufy and miftruft; and that this miftruft was now avowed in fuch a manner, as muft bring the point to an iffue.

"He now enumerated the feveral provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the firft line, our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria,

as we were bound to do by the Treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg, Sr. Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered, as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him, and his Government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world.

"He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because, every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions,) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He now went back to Egypt, and told, me that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the ag-*

greſſor, and by which he ſhould loſe more than he could gain, ſince, ſooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkiſh empire, or by ſome arrangement with the Porte.

"As a proof of his deſire to maintain peace, he wiſhed to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A deſcent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himſelf at the head of the expedition. But how could it be ſuppoſed, that, after having gained the height on which he ſtood, he would riſk his life and reputation in ſuch a hazardous attempt, unleſs forced to it by neceſſity, when the chances were that he and the greateſt part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the ſea. He talked much on this ſubject, but never affected to diminiſh the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one againſt him, but ſtill he was determined to attempt it, if war ſhould be the conſequence of the preſent diſcuſſion; and that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterpriſe.

"He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thouſand men; for to this amount it is, he ſaid, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the moſt deſperate enterprizes; and England, with a fleet that made her miſtreſs of the ſeas, and which he did not think he ſhould be able to equal in leſs than ten years. Two ſuch countries, by a proper underſtanding, might govern the world, but by their ſtrifes might overturn it. He ſaid, that, if he had not felt the enmity of the Britiſh Government, on every occaſion, ſince the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his deſire to conciliate; participation in indemnities, as well as in influence, on the continent; treaties of commerce; in ſhort, any thing that could have given ſatisfaction, and have teſtified his friendſhip. Nothing, however,

had been able to conquer the hatred of the British Government, and, therefore, it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies, (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description,) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the Treaty. He now made the tour of Europe, to prove to me that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice, to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him, by any violent act of aggression, neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

"In the little I said to him, (for he gave me, in the course of two hours, but very few opportunities of saying a word,) I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your Lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and,

on the other, the facility with which he might have taken poſſeſſion of Egypt, with the very ſhips and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpoſe of forcing us to evacuate their territory,

"I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the Firſt Conſul in detail: this would be impoſſible, from the vaſt variety of matter which he took occaſion to introduce. His purpoſe was evidently to convince me, that on Malta muſt depend peace or war, and, at the ſame time, to impreſs upon my mind a ſtrong idea of the means he poſſeſſed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the miſtruſt and jealouſy which, he ſaid, conſtantly prevailed ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens, I obſerved, that, after a war of ſuch long duration, ſo full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which hiſtory, has no example, it was but natural that a conſiderable degree of agitation ſhould prevail: but this, like the ſwell after a ſtorm, would gradually ſubſide, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggreſſor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was ſtill kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it muſt be admitted that we had ſuch motives of miſtruſt againſt France, as could not be alledged againſt us; and I was going to inſtance the acceſſion of territory and influence gained by France ſince the Treaty, when he interrupted me, by ſaying, I ſuppoſe you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce ſont des bagatelles:*" and it muſt have been foreſeen, whilſt the negotiation was pending; "*Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler a cette heure,*" I then alledged, as a cauſe of miſtruſt and of jealouſy, the impoſſibility of obtaining juſtice, or any kind of redreſs, for any of his Ma-

jesty's subjects—He asked me in what respect; and I told him, that, since the signing of the Treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman, of that description, had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained, to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property, detained in the several ports of France, and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice: such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed, that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his Majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that, if his Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies for, perhaps, inadequate services, would all be concentrated in

England, and give a proportionate increaſe or energy to to our own exertions.

"At this part of the converſation he roſe from his chair, and told me that he ſhould give orders to general Andreoſſy to enter on the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs with your Lordſhip; but he wiſhed that I ſhould, at the ſame time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his ſincerity, rather from himſelf than from his miniſters. He then, after a converſation of two hours, during the greateſt part of which he talked inceſſantly, converſed for a few moments on indifferent ſubjects, in apparent good humour, and retired.

"Such was, nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

"It muſt, however, be obſerved, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebaſtiani's miſſion *to commercial motives only*, but as one rendered neceſſary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WHITWORTH.

"P. S. This converſation took place on Friday laſt, and this morning I ſaw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the Firſt Conſul, after I left him, and he aſſured me that he had been very well ſatisfied with the frankneſs with which I had made my obſervations on what fell from him. I told him, that, without entering into any farther detail, what I had ſaid to the Firſt Conſul amounted to an aſſurance of what I truſted there could be no doubt, of the readineſs of his Majeſty's miniſters to remove all ſubjects of diſcuſſion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil, ſtrictly, the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as tha could be reconciled with the ſafety of the ſtate.—As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to underſtand that a project was in

contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkiſh empire would be ſo effectually ſecured as to do away every cauſe of doubt or uneaſineſs, either with regard to Egypt, or any part of the Turkiſh dominions. He could not then, he ſaid, explain himſelf farther. Under theſe circumſtances, no one can expect that we ſhould relinquiſh that aſſurance, which we have in hand till ſomething equally ſatisfactory is propoſed and adopted.

"WHITWORTH."

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

CHAPTER V.

The Engliſh, in France, made Priſoners.—The Dutch Government brought into the War.—The Death of the Queen of Etruria.—The French Clergy induced to congratulate Buonaparté as the Meſſiah of Providence, and another Cyrus.—Immenſe Force of the Republic.—The Engliſh Government proclaim a Faſt.—Preparations at Boulogne, and Admiral Bruix's Proclamation.—Expoſition of the State of the Republic.—The Royaliſts Conſpiracy, Pichegru, Moreau, and Georges, apprehended.—Buonaparté's Anſwer to the Senate's Addreſs.—Obſervations in the Moniteur of the 7th of March.—The Prophecies of Iſaiah and Daniel applied to Great Britain.—Arreſt and Execution of the Duke D'Enghien.—Accuſation of Mr. Drake, the Britiſh Reſident at Bavaria; and of Mr. Frere at Madrid.—Lord Hawkeſbury's circular Note in Vindication of theſe Charges.—Reflections on the parricidical Principle of aſſaſſinating Kings and Princes, applied to Engliſhmen.

IF the return of Lord Whitworth from Paris, had naturally, extinguiſhed all hopes of peace between the two countries, another circumſtance, that followed ſoon after, raiſed the ſpirit of hoſtility beyond all former bounds; this was produced by an order from the French Government to ſieze all the Engliſh in France, and was announced in the *Moniteur* as follows:

"The Government of the Republic, having heard read, by the Miniſter of Marine and Colonies, a diſpatch from the maritime prefect at Breſt, announcing that two Engliſh frigates had taken two French

merchants veſſels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifeſt violation of the law of nations.

I. It is preſcribed to all commanders of ſquadrons or naval diviſions of the Republic, captains of its ſhips, and other veſſels of war, to chaſe thoſe of the King of England, as well as thoſe veſſels belonging to his ſubjects, and to attack, capture, and conduct them into the ports of the Republic.

II. Commiſſions will be delivered, in courſe, to thoſe French privateers for which they are demanded.

III. All the Engliſh from the age of 18 to 60, or holding any commiſſion from his Britannic Majeſty, who are at preſent in France, ſhall, immediately be conſtituted priſoners of war, to anſwer for thoſe citizens of the Republic who may have been arreſted and made priſoners by the veſſels or ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, previous to any declaration of war. (Signed) BUONAPARTE.

It is almoſt unneceſſary to remark, that Holland was ſoon obliged to follow the footſteps of France. In the ſitting of the Dutch Legiſlative Body at the Hague, on the 21ſt of June, a Meſſage was ſent from the Government, announcing, that the Republic, as an ally of France, was obliged to take part in the war; and that it only remained for them to put their truſt in the divine protection and the juſtice of their cauſe.

The Meſſage announced, "That it had ſatisfied the deſires of the Firſt Conſul, and placed the Batavian army under the orders of the French commander." Soon after this, it appeared, that all the ſhip-carpenters and boatbuilders, every where in France, from

fifteen to ſixty, had been called upon to work for government.

Juſt at this juncture the new King of Etruria died, and the Queen was declared regent for her ſon, only three years of age. That nothing might be wanting to ſecond the exertions of the French and Engliſh, both governments left no means unemployed, phyſical or moral. The Engliſh Government ordered a Faſt. Buonaparté, having juſt began to plant religion and good order where ſcepticiſm and anarchy had rioted before, now, for the firſt time, began to make, through the proper organs, an appeal to the religious ſentiments of his country.—Strongly prepoſeſſed in his favour for what he had already done, his clergy affected to hail him as a moſt extraordinary perſonage, the inſtrument and favourite of Providence: this conduct of theirs, at that time, was looked upon, on this ſide of the water, as mere hypocriſy, and even blaſphemy: but as ſubſequent events have rather tended to confirm the extraordinary character of Buonaparté, than otherwiſe, we muſt preſent our readers with the following Mandate of Cardinal Cambaceres, the Archbiſhop of Rouen; it refers to a public day of prayer and ſupplication:

"We are perſuaded, ſays the Cardinal, "that the ſovereign Arbiter of the deſtiny of empires will favour our cauſe, and that he will refuſe to our enemies his divine protection, without which the moſt formidable preparations for war can only be attended with the moſt ſignal defeat: that he will avenge the ſanctity of treaties, of which he was appealed to as the guarantee, as well by our adverſaries as ourſelves. However, as we are not ignorant that God wiſhes we ſhould implore thoſe favours his paternal heart

burns to grant, entreat of him, moſt dear Brethren! that we may conquer the enemy that provokes us, and moderately uſe our victory.—Let us demand of him, particularly, that the Man of his right-hand, the Man, who, by his direction and by his orders, has done ſo much for the re-eſtabliſhment of his worſhip, and who propoſes to do ſo much more, may continue to be, like Cyrus, the Meſſiah of Providence; that he may watch over his life and cover him with his wings; that he may ſhield his auguſt perſon from the dangers he may meet in combat, and thoſe he has to fear from the envy of his detractors, on account of his merit; from the wicked, becauſe his object is to do good; from impiety, becauſe he is ſupporting religion; from policy and from foreign paſſions, becauſe he is the Firſt Man of a great ſtate," and that the happineſs of the Empire he governs is eſſentially united with his preſervation."

In preparations by land the French were by no means deficient: the Paris papers ſtated, (and there is no reaſon to doubt their authenticity) that the Republic poſſeſſed a diſpoſable force of 600,000 men! The remainder of the year 1803 was, in fact, remarkable for nothing more than the final evacuation of St. Domingo, by the French, and the loſs of all their influence in the Weſt Indies. On the part of the Engliſh (as we hinted before) the 16th of November was obſerved as a general Faſt; and which, in conſequence of the attendance of the numerous volunteer corps upon divine ſervice, was alſo diſtinguiſhed as a grand military ſpectacle; particularly, as his Majeſty appeared in Hyde Park, attended by the French princes, with ſeveral of the French *nobleſſe* and General Dumourier in their train.

In the meanwhile preparations, very different from field-day exercises, were going on in the different French ports, particularly at Boulogne, from whence Admiral Bruix, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

E. BRUIX, *Counsellor of State, and Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry War to* ENGLAND.

Head Quarters at Boulogne.

"The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you, to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a Hero, would not be raised above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice of Buonaparté, render me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery, are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance—our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprise—to you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination. Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. Those ships which insolently cruize along our shores, at sight of your labours, may return, and say to their government, 'A fearful day is preparing; the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may, in a few hours, bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory. To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours.

Sailors, we are on the field of battle, to lose a moment, would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas, will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

"BRUIX."

The French Government, which in its chief, as well as its administrators, has retained the eyes of an Argus, ever since Buonaparté became First Consul, continuing watchful and zealous of the conduct of the English, communicated to the French nation the discoveries they had recently made, in an article entitled, an "Exposition of the State of the Republic on the 16th of January 1804." An entire tranquillity (says this manifesto) prevailed in the *interior* of France, when, at the commencement of the last year, we entertained hopes of a permanent peace, and every thing else has remained tranquil, though a jealous power has re-kindled the torch of war; but this event has produced among us a more complete union of interests and opinions, and the public spirit has burst forth with redoubled energy.

This paper dwells upon the improved state of the finances—the prosperous situation of the interior; and then reverts to the wishes of the French people, and their Government, for a permanent peace, on the ground that it was to its prosperity alone, that the Republic was to be indebted for all its glory. With this view their arts were encouraged, their ships were dispersed over the seas; no armaments were in their ports, nothing of a threatening nature appeared on their frontiers. This, then, was the moment when the British Government choose, to alarm

its nation—to cover the Channel with ships—to insult our commerce by injurious inspections, and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.

If, on the 17th Ventose (March 8) of the 11th year, there existed any extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then, we are the aggressors: the Message of the King of England, and his hostile attitude, have been rendered necessary by a legitimate precaution, and the English people had a right to believe we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution. But, if the assertions of the Message were false; if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British Government, then that Government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it, by precipitating it, without reflection, into a war, the terrible effects of which begin now to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; it was France which waited, in silence, for the justice of England, and it was England who began the war even without a declaration. This Exposition likewise descanted upon the tranquillity of the continent, little thinking how soon it was again to be converted into fire and flame! Peace, it was said, reigned in Italy; and, that the Ottoman Porte, fatigued by intrigues, would gain by the interest of

France, the support of antient treaties. However, this prospect of peace on the continent soon proved itself fallacious, because the accusation which the same Exposition contained against the English, appeared to be true, viz.: that the British Government had endeavoured "to land, on the French coast, those Royalists, *monsters* whom they have encouraged during the peace, in order to effect a revolt; but such attempts will be futile, as the people are reconciled, by experience, to the wisdom and justice of their laws: that this prediction was literally realized, will be demonstrated by a circumstance, which is now to be brought forward."

On the 12th of February, it was thus announced by the Paris papers, "that a conspiracy of a very complicated nature had been discovered. It is said, that 150 men were to assemble in the uniform of guards, to seize Buonaparté at Malmaison, where he was hunting, or wherever else he might be found, and to carry him off. The uniforms were discovered in consequence of the information of one of the conspirators, who is in confinement in the Temple. The chief of the Chouans, Georges, only escaped by a quarter of an hour. The officers of the Police, also repaired to the mistress of an Inn here. The sign of the conspirators was an English piece of gold. They drew off her glove, and found in it a similar piece of English gold. They then opened her drawers, and found a Letter, directing her, on a day specified, to carry to a certain house in the *Rue de Bourgonge au Marais*, twenty bottles of wine, and to ring so many times at the door. The Police officers took the bottles, and repaired to the house, where they rang, and found a number of persons, who defended

themſelves in a very deſperate manner. Among thoſe arreſted, were Mairn, an intimate of Georges, the Vendean Royaliſt: one Victor, who had been in a former plot, and the cook of Georges. General Moreau has been arreſted, and the grand plot has been ſolemnly announced by the Government to the Legiſlative Aſſembly." And it was then ſtated, that General Moreau had held repeated conferences with Georges, Pichegru, and La Jollais; and the whole of the conſpiracy was attributed to the Engliſh Government.

On the 17th of February Regnier, the Grand Judge, made a report to the French Government, in which he aſſerted, that a band of aſſaſſins, headed by Georges, and in the pay of England, were ſtill diſperſed in La Vendée, Morbihan, and the Cotes du Nord. It was alſo ſtated, that an accomplice had been lately ſeized at Calais, upon his ſecond return from England, and that the papers found on him, proved the criminality of General Moreau. La Jollais was the courier who tranſmitted the ſentiments of Moreau to General Pichegru, when the latter was in London; and, that at a ſpot between Dieppe and Treport, the brigands of England were brought over in Engliſh ſhips, by Captain Wright, and landed, without being obſerved, and where they found men to receive them, and to conduct them, during the night, from fixed ſtations on the road, to Paris.

After the judges report had been read in the Tribunate, the brother of General Moreau made an energetic and indignant ſpeech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanding that his brother might be inſtantly brought to trial. The Senate,

however, imputing the Speech more to natural affection than ſound judgment, tranſmitted an Addreſs of congratulation to Buonaparté, to which, in the concluſion of his reply, he expreſſed himſelf, in a manner prophetically, as follows:

"I have long ſince renounced the hope of enjoying the pleaſures of private life: all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which *my fate*, and the will of the French people, have impoſed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm; my life will laſt as long as it will be uſeful to the nation: but I wiſh the French people to underſtand, that exiſtence, without their confidence and affection, would be to me without conſolation, and would, for them, have no object."

General Pichegru, then in Paris, was not arreſted till the 28th of February; when ſix *gens-d'armes*, and an agent of the police, entered his apartment ſo unexpectedly, that he had no time to uſe his piſtols, or the dagger which lay on the table: he, however, wreſtled with his opponents for a conſiderable time, and, when he found he could not prevail, endeavoured without effect, to intereſt their compaſſion. The Government, in the meanwhile, having certain intelligence that a great number of the conſpirators were in Paris, had the barriers ſo ſtrictly watched, that even Georges could not effect his eſcape. On this occaſion it may only be neceſſary to add, that both Georges and Moreau were found guilty. The firſt was executed, and died with great fortitude: the latter was pardoned by Buonaparté, on condition of tranſporting himſelf to America: and that Pichegru

died in prison; or, as it was stated in the Paris papers, strangled himself in a black silk handkerchief, twisted round his neck by the help of a stick; and he was buried in a place appropriated to the remains of those who commit suicide. A number of Chouans, or Royalists, were executed in the departments, being found without passports; a proof but too fatal of their designs in returning to the French territory. This, however, in England, as well as the justice executed upon Georges, and the lenity shewn to Moreau, were imputed to cruelty and to fear; and, in fact, as in every thing else, in which Buonaparté was concerned, every motive, but the real one, was brought forward to account for his actions; and though a work styled, "The Official Defence of General Moreau, before the Tribunal at Paris, said to have been suppressed in France," was translated into English, and published in this city; the translator owned, "that it appeared certain that a number of men, once in affluence, but now in indigence, and attached to the cause of the Bourbon Family, were perpetually forming plans for its restoration; they, (says he,) deceive themselves as to the means, and, very frequently, those who listen to them, as to their intentions."

This is evidently a poor and ungenerous attempt to shift the odium of the conspiracy from the principals to the miserable agents; still, not to be misunderstood, the translator of this work proceeds thus: "To speak plainly, many of the French Emigrants, exiled from their country, have turned the whole of their talents, their energy, and their natural disposition for intrigue, into a general effort for reinstating themselves, and their royal Master, at the expense of

all who will liften to their tales: the peace of kings and individuals is with them a matter of no conſideration."

This unſucceſsful attempt upon the life of Buonaparté, after he had been acknowledged as the lawful ſovereign of France, was conſidered as too atrocious to be paſſed over, by the *Moniteur*, without repeated animadverſion: that of March 7, 1804, contained, among others, the following ſtriking obſervations:

"Laſt year, on this day, Europe was at peace! tomorrow, a year will have revolved ſince the King of England, diſhonouring a reign of forty-two years by the groſſeſt falſhoods, called upon his nation to take up arms—'Becauſe,' ſaid he, in the face of Europe, 'the ports of France and Holland are filled with conſiderable armaments, which threaten the conſtitution, the independence, and the *religion* of the Engliſh people.' That fallacious meſſage renewed the war: the miniſters of the King of England were preparing a new meſſage to celebrate this anniverſary: they relied upon being able to announce to Parliament, that they had baſely cauſed the Firſt Conſul to be aſſaſſinated. But He who diſpoſes of the life of man, and of the deſtinies of empires, had otherwiſe ordained it. The French Government is more conſolidated; a new energy has ariſen to animate and unite the citizens, and to teach the conſpirators that the whole people collects itſelf and rallies round the Chief of the State. The Firſt Conſul, ſuperior to all events, is more enabled than ever to fulfil the decree of the Fates, and to avenge the rights of nations, ſo frequently violated: while the King of England———"

At the ſight of theſe ſtriking proofs of the exiſtence of a divine and juſt Providence, the moſt ſublime pictures of the prophecies of Iſaiah preſent

themſelves to the mind: we ſay, with Daniel, *Mene, Tekel, Upharſin*; viz. *Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting.*

The next ſubject that occupied the public attention was the ſeizure of one of the royal family of France; viz. the Duke D'Enghien, at Ettenheim, in the German territory of the Elector of Baden; where a number of Emigrants, and other perſons, ſaid to have been in the pay of England, had been ſome time aſſembled. Notice of this aſſemblage having been ſent to Paris, Buonaparté diſpatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who, arriving on the German ſide of the Rhine, marched towards Offenbourg, where he ordered the commandant to point out the Emigrants in that town, fifteen of whom were immediately arreſted, including the Duke D'Enghien. No reſiſtance was made by the Elector of Baden; but he immediately diſpatched a courier to his ſon-in-law, the Emperor of Ruſſia. This took place on the 14th of March; and, in the night between the 21ſt and 22nd, the Duke having arrived at Paris, under an eſcort of fifty *gens-d'armes*, he was conveyed to the Caſtle of Vincennes, where he was tried and condemned by a military commiſſion, aſſembled for the purpoſe. He was immediately transferred to the wood of Vincennes. He deſired to ſpeak with the Firſt Conſul, but this could not be obtained: he then collected himſelf, and met death with reſolution: he would not ſuffer his eyes to be bound. Of the nine grenadiers who fired at him, ſeven bullets took place. He was buried in the garden of the caſtle, in the 32d year of his age.

Soon after this one of the *Moniteurs* contained a

voluminous report, of the Grand Judge, on the conſpiracy, conſiſting of a ſeries of letters and papers, to prove that Mr. Drake, the Britiſh miniſter at Munich, in Bavaria, was employed in the project of deſtroying the French Government, by cauſing the powder mills in France to be blown up and effecting a diſorganization in the armies: the inſtructions and letters ſent to and received from an agent, which Mr. Drake ſent to Paris, are given at length. In one letter the agent is deſired to print an addreſs to the army, not to ſuffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealouſy of the Conſul. Theſe papers were immediately ſent, by extraordinary couriers, to the foreign courts, and alſo to their ambaſſadors at Paris, all of whom returned indifferent anſwers, the American miniſter excepted: he entered into a long detail of the horror in which civilized nations muſt view the attempts of atrocious agents, and he felicitated Buonaparté on his happy eſcape from the plots of all theſe aſſaſſins. Sweden being then upon the point of coming to a rupture with the French, her ambaſſador returned no anſwer.

According to the *Moniteur*, the new principle of aſſaſſination, adopted by the Engliſh miniſters, was not confined to France or Germany; it had, alſo, been advocated at Madrid: where our ambaſſador, Mr. Frere, being in converſation with the Prince of Peace, is ſaid to have aſſerted, "That, in the preſent circumſtances of England, aſſaſſination and murder were juſtifiable, in order to reſcue her from the extraordinary ſituation in which ſhe was placed!"—To this the Prince of Peace replied; "But, Sir! if France adopted the ſame principle, nations, inſtead of fleets and armies, would attack each other by means of aſ-

faſſins." To this the *Moniteur* added the following Note, which was the only notice taken of the execution of the Duke D'Enghien in any Paris paper:

"The obſervation of the Prince of Peace has juſt been verified: and, at the moment when England was employing the Count D'Artois as an aſſaſſin, one of the individuals of his houſe was ſuffering, in expiation of his guilt, under the ſword of juſtice! Infamous late Biſhop of Arras! behold the reſult of your councils!"

As, after theſe expoſures, it would have been madneſs in the Engliſh miniſters to have denied the facts charged upon them, they took a method, unheard of before in the annals of diplomacy: (unleſs we admit of the old Popiſh claim to the right of depoſing kings and princes when they were acting inimical to its uſurpations) in fact, the Britiſh miniſters came forward with a written manifeſto to juſtify themſelves! for, on the 30th of April, a circular Note, ſigned by Lord Hawkeſbury, addreſſed to the miniſters of foreign courts reſident at the Court of London, contended for the right of belligerent powers to avail themſelves of all diſcontents which might exiſt in countries with which they might be at war, and recriminated upon the French for keeping up a correſpondence with his Majeſty's diſaffected ſubjects in Ireland; and alluded, at the ſame time, to a corps of Iriſh rebels in the French ſervice, and then actually on the coaſts of France, deſtined to ſecond the former in their deſigns againſt this government. This Note went ſtill further; it acknowledged, that, even if any miniſter, accredited by his Majeſty at a foreign court, had kept up a correſpondence with any perſon in France with a view to obtain information, &c.

he had done nothing more than what miniſters, under ſimilar circumſtances, had always conſidered they had a right to do. But there was another diſtinction: a miniſter in a foreign country, it was ſtated, by the nature of his office, was obliged to abſtain from all communication with the diſaffected of the country where he is accredited, though he was not ſubject to the ſame reſtraints with reſpect to countries with which his ſovereign is at war; and, therefore, that his actions were only blamable or praiſeworthy ſo far as as they did or did not militate againſt the ſecurity of the country where he reſided. It was further inſinuated, that France, at that period, had no right to the diſtinction of that of a civilized government; and that, of courſe, it was the intereſt of all Europe to deſtroy her. However, it does not appear that one ſingle ambaſſador replied to this extraordinary reaſoning, which evidently covered the deteſtable plea for aſſaſſinating kings and princes under the pretext of aſſiſting the inhabitants, juſtly diſcontented with any exiſting government which might be at war with that of Great Britain! Strange as it may appear, this parricidical principle has been, ſince, acted upon in Ruſſia, and again avowed! We call it a parricidical principle; becauſe, as every ſovereign is conſidered as the father of his people, the idea of aſſaſſinating him, when his people are at war, is as cruel and miſchievous as that of aſſaſſinating the father of a family becauſe his children are at variance with another family or nation. Beſides, when Engliſhmen adopt this principle, what becomes of their own favourite maxim, that "the King can do no wrong;" and the old axiom, that "the worſt of governments is better

than a ſtate of anarchy?" No pernicious principle in politics, which can poſſibly be retaliated, ſhould ever be adopted, upon any plea whatever; for what language could poſſibly expreſs the enormity of the French Government, had it ever deſcended to the indignity of attempting to retaliate this odious principle upon our own auguſt Sovereign, under the ſlimſy pretext of aſſiſting the proſcribed family of the Stuarts, or any of his "diſcontented ſubjects?"

CHAPTER V.

Of the Stone Expedition.—Elevation of Buonaparté to the imperial Dignity.—Unexpected Change of the Engliſh Miniſtry; the Removal of Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent, and Re-introduction of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville.—Eulogium upon Mr. Addington's Adminiſtration.—Mode of announcing Buonaparté as the Emperor of the French.—Oppoſition by Carnot.—Speech of the Conſul Cambaceres to the Emperor.—Anſwer to the ſame, &c.

THE early part of this year was diſtinguiſhed by an undertaking, which, by right, ſhould only have been recorded in the annals of dulneſs. A deſign, which originated with a London bookſeller, was thus announced, in the Monthly Magazine for March 1804.—"The French and Dutch ports are now blocked up more cloſely than ever: and a plan has been propoſed, by Mr. Richard Philips, and is about to be carried into effect, for filling up thoſe ports, at leaſt in part, with ſtones, and with the hulks of old veſſels; ſo as to make it difficult, if not impoſſible, for even any ſort of ſhips, or ſmall craft, that can be armed for invaſion, to make their way out of them, &c. Beſides, to block up the ports of France and Holland (if this can indeed be effected by artificial ſandbanks and ſunken rocks) would reduce them more certainly to an abſolute inability of invading our country, rivalling our commerce, or coping with our ſhips of war, than if we could burn half the towns in France, and ſlay, without loſs to ourſelves, one or two hundred thouſand fighting men." Suffice it to ſay, that theſe fond romantic wiſhes, though tried,

could not be realized; some of the stone vessels sunk even before they had reached the place of their destination! The ridicule expressed in the French papers on this occasion, though uncommonly poignant, can scarcely be supposed to have been extravagant or misplaced. But the political hemisphere, in the month of April, 1804, was not less changeable than the natural one: the *respectable* Mr. Addington, as he had been termed by the First Consul, was set aside, and a new minister appointed, without the least expression of a wish, either in King or people, that any change should take place; while the new Minister was the very person whose dismission from the cabinet, only two years before, by the King, was received with general approbation by the people! The Peers, in particular, by their divisions in the House, shewed that they were determined to compel Mr. Addington to withdraw; a similar division in the Commons persuaded him to resign his post and avoid the disgrace of being turned out. But as the cry of the war party was for a vigorous administration, in a very few days they were highly gratified, by its being generally known that Mr. Pitt was to be the Prime Minister. This joyful, or, rather, fatal news, was soon followed by the certainty of knowing, that Lord Melville (the well-known Mr. Dundas) was to be his colleague, and to be placed at the head of the Admiralty. Mr. Addington, however, retired from office, at least, with the character of integrity and a regard for his country. He conciliated all parties; his manners were neither austere nor forbidding: it was justly said, "He opened the door of the prison, he suffered justice to take its free course; and if he did not do every thing that a wise and a good man might wish for, his

forbearance to continue the practices which disgraced the country, under his predecessor, must entitle him to a very considerable degree of approbation and applause." Of the old ministry, at this period, Lord Hawkesbury alone was retained; Lord St. Vincent, left the Admiralty to make room for Mr. Dundas.

But, while a change was taking place in the British administration, one much more important was meditated in France. The First Consul, on his accession to that dignity, thought it necessary to have it established by the suffrages of the people: but this form was no longer deemed needful to make him Emperor; because, the bodies, under the name of the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate, represented to him the necessity of his taking upon himself the Imperial title: and this change in the name scarcely excited a debate. Carnot only opposed the assumption of the title of Emperor, upon the same ground as he resisted the motion for vesting the Consular power in Buonaparté, during life; but Carnot's resistance was very feeble: and this appearance of opposition, served rather to give the business the form of a free debate than otherwise. In fact, it was obvious, at that time, to every man of discernment, that it was of very little consequence whether the Sovereign of France should be addressed by the name of First Consul or that of Emperor. However, on the 5th of May, the Tribunate, as it was said, exercising the right given them by the 29th Article of the Constitution, passed the following Vote:

"That Napoleon Buonaparté, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and, in that capacity,

be invested with the Government of the French Republic.

"That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of promigeniture.

"That, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

The foregoing Decree was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of Carnot, whose objections were replied to by M. Faure; who asked him, if he had forgotten the government of 1793, and the horrible Committee of Ten, who, in cold blood, signed decrees of death and proscriptions. He said, he was astonished at hearing of an opposition to that which could alone prevent the return of such miseries.

In the meanwhile, between this vote and the formal Address of the Senate to the new Emperor, Joseph and Louis Buonaparté were created Princes of France, and the former was also made Colonel of the 4th regiment of the line, and ordered to Boulogne, to join the army of England. At length the Senate having gone through the whole of the new regulations, they were presented, in form, to Napoleon, at St. Cloud, on the 18th of May, when Consul Cambaceres, the President, presented the Organic Act to the Sovereign, and spoke as follows:

"SIRE,

"The Decree which the Senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your Imperial Majesty, is only the authentic expression of a

will, already manifeſted by the nation. This Decree, which confers on you a new title, and which, after you receive the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years paſt, entruſted to your Majeſty the reins of Government, and the Conſtitution of the State has repoſed in you the choice of a ſucceſſor. The more auguſt denomination decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its dignity, and to the neceſſity it experiences of giving you daily teſtimonies of reſpect and attachment, which every day increaſe.

"How could the French nation find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and ſolicitude for it! Preſerving the remembrance of the evils which it ſuffered, when abandoned to itſelf; how could they reflect, without enthuſiaſm, on the happineſs it has experienced, ſince Providence inſpired it with the idea of throwing itſelf into your arms! Its armies were defeated; its finances were in diſorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were diſputing for the remains of our ancient ſplendour; every idea of morality, and even of religion, was obſcured; the habit of giving and reſuming power left the magiſtrates without conſideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority.—Your Majeſty appeared; you recalled victory to our ſtandards; you eſtabliſhed order and œconomy in the public expences. The Nation, encouraged by the uſe you made of your authority, reſumed confidence in its own reſources; your wiſdom allayed the rage of party; religion ſaw her altars raiſed up; ideas of juſtice and injuſtice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they ſaw crimes followed by puniſhment, and virtue ſignalized and rewarded with honourable diſtinctions. In the laſt place, and it is no doubt the greateſt of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whoſe civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every

reſtraint, and hoſtile to every authority, were, by your means, made to cheriſh and reſpect a power, which was exerciſed only for their glory and repoſe.

"The French people do not pretend to eſtabliſh themſelves judges of the conſtitutions of other ſtates; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have taſted, for ages, the advantage of hereditary power; they have made a ſhort but painful trial of the contrary ſyſtem; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation, to a path ſuited to their genius. They make a free uſe of their rights, to delegate to your Imperial Majeſty, a power which your intereſt forbids you to exerciſe by yourſelf. They ſtipulate for future generations, and by a ſolemn compact, entruſt to the offspring of your race, the happineſs of their poſterity. The former will imitate your virtues, the latter will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation, which, after ſo much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its boſom, a man worthy of appeaſing the tempeſt of the paſſions, of conciliating all intereſts, and uniting all voices! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affection, of the citizens!

"If it be in the principles of our conſtitution, (and already ſeveral examples of this kind have been given) to ſubmit to the ſanction of the people, that part of the Decree which concerns the eſtabliſhment of an Hereditary Government, the Senate have thought that it ought to entreat your Imperial Majeſty, to conſent that the organic diſpoſitions ſhould be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory, as well as the happineſs of the Republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French."

The Emperor replied in the following terms:

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country, is eſſentially connected with my happineſs. I accept the title which you think neceſſary to the glory of

the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the Law of Hereditament. I hope France will never repent of its having surrounded with honours my family. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the Great Nation."

The Senate being then admitted to an audience with her Majesty the Empress; the Consul Cambaceres, the President, said,

"MADAME,

"We have just presented to your august spouse, the Decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which establishes the Government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the present race. A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the Senate—that of offering to your Imperial Majesty, the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French. Yes, Madame, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it says, that, being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the Chief of the State, only to relieve distress, and that, to the pleasure of obliging, your Majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter, and the kindness more valuable. This disposition presages, that the name of the Empress Josephine, will be the signal of consolation and hope; and, as the virtues of Napoleon, will always serve as an example to his successors, to teach them the art of governing nations, the living remembrance of your goodness will teach their august consorts, that the care of drying up tears, is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts.

"The Senate thinks itself happy, in the opportunity of being the first to salute you Empress; and he, who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants."

The Organic *Senatus Conſultum*, was proclaimed by the Emperor, and publiſhed in Paris the following day at noon.

His Imperial Majeſty, nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, his Imperial Highneſs Prince Joſeph Buonaparté; to that of Conſtable, his Imperial Highneſs Prince Louis Buonaparte; to that of Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Conſul Cambaceres; and to that of Arch treaſurer, the Conſul Lebrun.

The Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-treaſurer, and Conſtable, took the oaths in the preſence of the Emperor.

His Imperial Majeſty, afterwards, addreſſed to Conſul Cambaceres the following Letter, (and a ſimilar one to Conſul Lebrun:)

"Citizen Conſul Cambaceres, your title is about to be changed; but your functions, and my confidence, remain the ſame. In the high dignity of Arch-chancellor, with which you are going to be inveſted, you will manifeſt, as you have done in that of Conſul, the wiſdom of your counſels, and thoſe diſtinguiſhed talents, which have given you ſo important a ſhare in all the good that I can have done.

"I have nothing, therefore, to requeſt of you, but the continuation of the ſame ſentiments for the ſtate and for me.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, 28 Floreal,
Year 12 (May 18, 1804.)

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, decrees the following generals to be Marſhals of the Empire:

"Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Maſſena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Devouſt, Beſſieres.

" The title of Marſhals of the Empire, to be given to the following Senators:

" Kellerman, Lefebre, Perignon, Serrurier.

(Signed) " NAPOLEON.

" H MURAT, Secretary of State."

Done at St. Cloud, by the Emperor.

It might have been expect d, that this ſtep of Buonaparté's would have been highly ſatisfactory to thoſe in this country, who had declared themſelves ſuch warm advocates for a *regular government*; and who, during the former war, were always crying out, " Who are we to treat with?" but this was not the caſe, their complaints were louder than ever! The real cauſe of this was, the hopes of overthrowing the new order of things were now rendered deſperate. Their *regular government* with the Bourbons, no doubt, would have reſtored the Pope, his clergy, and all their wholeſome authority. But the ſupreme decree it ſeems had gone forth, and an angel had ſworn, " *that their time ſhould be no longer.*"

CHAPTER VII.

Consequences of the Imperial Appointment.—Letters to the Bishops of France.—Singular Form of Prayer.—Regulations for the Coronation.—Russia takes up the Cause of the Duke D'Enghien.—Note from M. D'Oubril.—Answer of M. Talleyrand.—Russian Ultimatum.—Swedish Note and Answer in the Moniteur.—Personality of the King of Sweden's Reply. The Emperor Francis assumes the Title of Emperor of Austria.

NAPOLEON being too great a politician to suffer the act of his elevation to pass simply as a civil ceremony, lost no time in giving it all the effect that it could receive from the aid of the religious institutions. His new dignity was, therefore, announced to the French bishops, in Letters of a similar tendency, to the following, addressed to the Archbishop of Paris. We are the more particular in noticing the religious promises made by Napoleon, on this ground; that, probably, there never yet was any potentate who had been able to realize either his projects or his promises, in a manner equal to himself: the Letter alluded to, runs thus:

"Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the constitution of the Republic, to the Imperial power, I see, in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose, with confidence, in the powerful succour of

the Moſt High. He will inſpire his miniſters with the deſire of ſeconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by inſtruction, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the chriſtian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven, upon the nation, and upon the Supreme Chief of the State. I write you this Letter, that, as ſoon as you have received it, you will cauſe *Veni Creator*, and *Te Deum*, to be ſung in all the churches of your dioceſe, &c. &c."

Another Circular, alſo, enjoined the clergy to make uſe of the following Form of Prayer, which had already been uſed in the Imperial chapel.

"O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and eſpecially of the French Empire, grant unto thy ſervant Napoleon, our Emperor, that he may know, and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he, whom thou haſt appointed our Sovereign, may be always powerful through thy grace."

On the 28th of May, this event was officially announced by the French *chargé-d'affaires*, to the Diet at Ratiſbon, and a ſimilar notification was made to the ſeveral foreign courts.

Regulations for the coronation, were alſo laid down by an Imperial Decree, dated from the Palace of St. Cloud, July 9th.

This ceremony was then appointed to take place in the month of November following, (the 18th Brumaire,) and certain of the public functionaries, from the ſeveral departments, together with detachments from the different military corps, were ſummoned to attend at Paris on the occaſion: but the new Emperor, and his court, were ſoon called off by

different circumſtances, from the enjoyment of theſe high and dazzling dignities. Theſe new honours, it ſeems, before they were to be worn, were again to be won in the field. If the Duke D'Enghien was dead, his advocates were alive and active. Hitherto, it had been rumoured, that the territory of the Elector of Baden, had been violated in the moſt indecorous manner; and that the Duke D'Enghien, had been taken in the territory of Baden, and carried off by ſurprize; but when this matter came to be inveſtigated, it appeared, that notwithſtanding the complaint this Prince ſent to his ſon-in-law, the Emperor of Ruſſia, he might, in the firſt place, have arreſted the Emigrants at Ettenheim, or, if he had choſen ſo to do, apprized the Duke of his danger, and prevented his falling into the hands of the French. In fact, it appeared, that the Elector of Baden, received the following Letter from M. Talleyrand, dated March 10, addreſſed to his miniſter, Baron Edelſheim, of which M. de Cauhncourt, was the bearer.

"SIR,

"I had formerly ſent you a Note, the purport of which was, to requeſt the arreſt of the French Emigrants who were aſſembled at Offenburg; as the Firſt Conſul, from ſucceſſive arreſts of the banditti, which the Engliſh Government has ſent to France, and from the reſult of the trials which have been inſtituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extenſive part which the Engliſh agents at Offenburg have had in thoſe horrible plots, which have been deviſed againſt his own perſon and againſt the ſafety of France. He was, at the ſame time, warned that the Duke D'Enghien, and General Dumourier, were at Ettenheim. As it is impoſſible that they ſhould be in that city without the permiſſion of his Electoral Highneſs, the

First Conſul, therefore, could not ſee, without the deepeſt concern, that a prince, whom he had diſtinguiſhed by every mark of friendſhip, ſhould give an aſylum to the moſt determined enemies of France, and permit them, ſo tranquilly, to project ſuch unprecedented conſpiracies. From theſe extraordinary occurrences, the First Conſul has found it neceſſary to order two ſmall detachments of troops to repair to Offenburg and Ettenheim, to ſeize the authors of a crime, the nature of which is ſuch, as to place thoſe, who are proved to have had a ſhare in it, out of the protection of the law of nations. It is General Caulincourt, who is charged with the execution of theſe orders of the First Conſul, and who, there is no doubt, will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the ſame, which his Electoral Highneſs can wiſh. He will have the honour to deliver the Letter which I have been directed to write.

"M. TALLEYRAND."

From the relationſhip between the Emperor of Ruſſia and the Elector of Baden, and the anxiety which the Engliſh Government had indulged to bring Ruſſia, once more, into the conteſt, it would not be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the French Emigrants were placed at Offenburg and Ettenheim, as a ſnare to induce the French Government to commit itſelf with the Potentate of the North, and the Empire of Germany. However, the Emperor of Ruſſia took the earlieſt opportunity to ſhew the intereſt he felt in the fate of the Duke D'Enghien; and, notwithſtanding the reaſons which the French had aſſigned for their conduct, he tranſmitted to Paris, through M. D'Oubril, the following Note, dated

"April 20, 1804.

"According to the orders which the underſigned *charge-d'affaires* of his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor of all the

Ruſſias, has received from his court, he haſtens to inform the miniſter of the French Republic, that his illuſtrious Maſter has learned, with equal aſtoniſhment and concern, the event that has taken place at Ettenheim, the circumſtances that have attended it, and its melancholy reſult. The concern of the Emperor on this occaſion, is the more lively, as he can, by no means, reconcile the violation of the territory of the Elector of Baden, to thoſe principles of juſtice and propriety which are held ſacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. His Imperial Majeſty finds in this act a violation of the rights of nations, and of a neutral territory, which, at leaſt, was as arbitrary as it was public; a violation, the conſequences of which are difficult to eſtimate, and which, if conſidered as admiſſible, muſt entirely annihilate the ſecurity and independence of ſovereign ſtates. If the German Empire, after the misfortunes it has ſuffered, which have made it ſenſibly feel the neceſſity of tranquillity and repoſe, muſt ſtill be in fear for the integrity of its territory, could it have been expected that this ſhould have originated on the part of a government, which has laboured to ſecure to it peace, and impoſed on itſelf the duty of guaranteeing its continuance. All theſe conſiderations have not permitted the Emperor to paſs over in ſilence this unexpected event, which has ſpread conſternation through all Germany. His Imperial Majeſty has held it to be his duty, as guarantee and mediator of the peace, to notify to the ſtates of the Empire, the manner in which he views an action which endangers their ſecurity and independence. The Ruſſian Reſident at Ratiſbon, has, in conſequence, received orders to deliver in a Note to the Diet, and to repreſent to it, and to the Head of the Empire, the neceſſity of remonſtrating to the French Government againſt this violation of the German territory. His Imperial Majeſty holds it in like manner, to be his duty to notify his ſentiments directly to the French Government, by the underſigned, as his Majeſty is aſſured, that the Firſt Conſul will haſten

to attend to the juſt remonſtrances of the German political body, and feel the preſſing neceſſity of taking the moſt active meaſures to relieve all the governments of Europe from the alarm he muſt have occaſioned to them, and put an end to an order of things, too dangerous to their ſafety and future independence.

"The underſigned, hereby fulfils the commands of his illuſtrious Maſter, and avails himſelf of this opportunity, to communicate to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, the aſſurance of his high eſteem.

(Signed) "D'OUERIL."

The anſwer of M. Talleyrand, to this Note from the Ruſſian *charge-d'affaires,* is too important, and embraces too many objects, to ſuffer it to be unnoticed. He obſerved, that as both Pruſſia and Auſtria, the two powers moſt concerned in the fate of the German Empire, underſtood that the French Government was ſufficiently authorized to arreſt, at only two leagues diſtant from her frontier, French rebels, who conſpired againſt their own country, the German princes having been thus ſatisfied, the Firſt Conſul would have nothing to ſay to the Emperor of Ruſſia in a point which did not, in the leaſt, concern his intereſt: but, he continued, "If it be the intention of his Majeſty to recommence the war, what need is there for empty pretences? Much as the renewal of the war would grieve the Firſt Conſul, he knew no man in the world who could put France in fear—no man whom he would ſuffer to interfere in the internal concerns of his country." But M. Talleyrand's Note went further, and we believe with ſtrict truth, accuſed Ruſſia of maintaining ſpies, and authors of plots, both at Dreſden and Rome, for the purpoſe of diſquieting neighbouring ſtates. In reality, as theſe circumſtances had been complained

of before, there was little reason, as some did, to object that they were unjust recriminations on the part of France: besides, the Treaty of Luneville stipulated, that no asylum should be allowed in the German Empire, to any of those men who could possibly disturb the respective tranquillity of Germany and France; this circumstance shewed the impropriety and officiousness of the conduct of Russia. "France," says M. Talleyrand, "required of Russia, the removal of French Emigrants who were in the Russian employ during the war, and this, from countries where they rendered themselves conspicuous only by their intrigues, and Russia insists upon maintaining them there; and the remonstrance she now makes, leads to this question:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I. (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier,) would not pains have been taken to arrest them? the First Consul hopes that his Imperial Majesty, whose excellent mind and noble character are so well known, will sooner or later, perceive that there are men who avail themselves of every means to raise enemies to France, and who, thereby, seek to make a diversion, and re-kindle the flames of a war, which is advantageous only to England."

But this Note, did not, by any means satisfy the Emperor of Russia; the fact was, that he would be a champion, but, though determined to fight, he was still not so fool-hardy as to begin before he had called the German Empire to his assistance. But though this representation, and the professions of the Emperor of Russia, laid the foundations of a new war, the flame, thus kindled, was some time before it

broke out. After various repreſentations and recriminations on both ſides, the Ruſſian miniſter, D'Oubril, who began only with remonſtrating upon the proceedings againſt the Duke D'Enghien, concluded by adding ſeveral new demands. In the middle of July, he threw them into the following diplomatic form :

" The underſigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his ſtay at Paris, unleſs the following demands be previouſly complied with.

I. " That the French Government ſhall cauſe its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, that it ſhall engage to reſpect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the preſent, and any future war.

II. " That the French Government ſhall promiſe to eſtabliſh, immediately, ſome principle of concert with his Imperial Majeſty, for regulating the baſis upon which the affairs of Italy ſhall be finally adjuſted.

III. " That it ſhall engage to indemnify, without delay, the King of Sardinia, for the loſſes he has ſuſtained.

IV. " That the French Government ſhall promiſe, immediately, to evacuate, and withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and enter into an engagement to reſpect, in the ſtricteſt manner, the neutrality of the Germanic Body.

" The underſigned has to add, that he has received orders from his Government, to demand a categorical anſwer to theſe four points."

" D'OUBRIL."

The anſwer thus demanded was given, and the conſequence was, that M. D'Oubril made preparations for leaving Paris; but, in the meanwhile, as one of the great powers had thus led the way, France found herſelf doomed to hear language ſtill more offenſive and hoſtile from Sweden. Accordingly,

on the 27th of July, a Note was preſented by the Swediſh miniſter at Ratiſbon, in which the King, as Duke of Interior Pomerania, very ſtrongly proteſted againſt the ſeizure of the Duke D'Enghien, and called upon the Germanic Body, to unite and obtain ſatisfaction from France, for the violation of its territory, &c. In this Note, the King of Sweden not only urged his being a member of the Germanic Conſtitution, but alſo a guarantee of the Treaty of Weſtphalia: circumſtances at that time, conſidering what had happened to the Empire, juſt as chimerical as if his Majeſty George III. was, at this preſent moment to inſiſt upon the validity of his honorary title, as King of France!

But this vague reaſoning of the King of Sweden, did not long paſs unnoticed in the *Moniteur*. That paper, for the 14th of Auguſt, accuſed him of inconſiſtency and folly; of intermeddling in a thankleſs office, when he could do neither good nor harm; of inſulting his father-in-law, the Elector of Baden, in his capital of Carlſruhe; and of acting in a manner highly prejudicial to the intereſts of his brother-in-law, the Elector of Bavaria, while he, the King, reſided at Munich; and of having abandoned the Danes, his allies, before the bombardment of Copenhagen, by the Engliſh. France, it was then ſaid, was quite indifferent to all his ſteps; ſhe knew how to diſcriminate between a loyal and brave people, juſtly called, the French of the North, and a young man, led aſtray by falſe notions, and unenlightened by reflection. The anſwer to theſe charges, and particularly, the *wording* and the perſonality of the Article, are ſo extraordinary in diplomatic correſ-

pondence, that we cannot omit giving it as follows, intire:

"His Majesty the King of Sweden, has received a report of the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which *Monsieur Napoleon Bunaparté* has allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur* of the 4th of August, under the article Ratisbon. The tone, the style, and even the subject of this Article, are all of so extraordinary a nature, that his Majesty has been, yet, hardly able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of misleading the public as to the conduct of his Majesty, as it appears from the uncommon pains that are taken to draw a line of separation between his Majesty and his subjects, let the world understand, that any instigation to that effect never could have been less likely to succeed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whose interests are bound up with those of a sovereign, who has never separated his prosperity from theirs, and who never feels so happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happiness of his subjects. As his Majesty cannot, consistent with his own dignity, or the honour of his crown, permit any official intercourse, after such an insult, he has ordered me, Sir, to communicate to you, that, from this day, all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to cease between the French Legation at Stockholm, and his Majesty's Government. As a sentence in the Article above-mentioned, seems to imply that the French Government is disposed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourse between Sweden and France, would be attended with some advantages; his Majesty, on his part, is willing to permit the same, from those sentiments of esteem which he has always entertained for the French people; sentiments which he has inherited from his ancestors, and which owe their origin to far happier times.

(Signed) "T. D. EHRENHEIM."

Immediately after this, an Order was iſſued at Stockholm, whereby all French journals, of every deſcription, and all future French publications, were ſtrictly prohibited from being imported into Sweden.

Notwithſtanding all this violence and impetuoſity on the part of the *members*, the Emperor, the preſumed *Head* of the Empire, was not quite ſo haſty in eſpouſing their quarrels, or entering the liſts with Napoleon. Francis, indeed, having felt that he was completely deſpoiled of moſt of his former bluſhing honours; and that he was in reality, no longer Emperor of Germany, yet, ſtill reſolved not to loſe a whit of his former *nominal* dignity, had determined upon aſſuming the new title of Emperor of Auſtria. Here too, it was neceſſary to go through ſeveral forms, which required ſome time to accompliſh. However, on the 11th of Auguſt, a Royal Patent appeared, dated from Vienna, in which the Emperor declares, that, after the example of Ruſſia, in the preceding century, and that which was then given to him by the new Sovereign of France, he had determined, after mature reflection, to aſſume, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, the title and dignity of Hereditary Emperor of Auſtria.

According to this ſupreme deciſion and declaration, we decree and enact:

I. "That immediately after our title of elected King of the Romans, ſhall be inſerted that of Hereditary Emperor of Auſtria, after which ſhall follow our other titles of King of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.: then thoſe of Archduke of Auſtria, Duke of Styria, &c. and thoſe of the other hereditary countries."

This title, in imitation of that which Napoleon had been ſuppoſed to have conferred upon himſelf, was very quietly aſſumed in the Cabinet; but it will very ſoon appear that both of them, were yet to be contended for, and either loſt or confirmed in the field.

In fact, the Emperor of Ruſſia was known to be preparing for war; and as the Engliſh miniſters had imprudently boaſted of the good diſpoſition of Auſtria, through the medium of the public prints, it required no uncommon ſagacity to anticipate the ſtorm that followed!

CHAPTER VIII.

St. Domingo loſt to the French.—The Spirit of mercantile Monopoly perſonified as the Genius of the preſent War.—The flaming Proclamation of Deſſalines; his empty Boaſting and Cruelty.—Contraſt in the Character and Fate of Touſſaint.—Touſſaint's Duplicity the Cauſe of his Misfortunes.—His Majeſty's Illneſs.—The Policy of Faſt Days.—Singular Form of public Prayer.—The oſtenſible Object of the War changed in the Courſe of a few Months.—Of the French ſmall Craft in the Ports of Fluſhing, Oſtend, &c.—Sir Sidney Smith's Engagement with the Flotilla under Admiral Verheul.—The Candour of Sir Sidney's Diſpatches.—Reflections, &c.

AS it ſoon appeared, to every man of moral or political diſcernment, that the preſent was a mercantile war; ſo it happened that this baſe, avaricious, monopolizing ſpirit, ſoon found ample means of gratification: not only ſeveral hundreds of French and Dutch merchantmen, at ſea when hoſtilities commenced, fell under its gripe, but their Colonies alſo promiſed to become ſo eaſy a prey, that, to uſe a ſcriptural metaphor, they were like ripe figs, that only needed to be ſhaken to fall into the hands of the ſhaker; as almoſt every day brought intelligence thus gratifying to a deſcription of perſons who never reckon upon any thing beyond their preſent enjoyment or their immediate gratification: to the eye of reaſon they ſeemed like the Fox in the Fable; whoſe enormous gorging having puffed him out to ſuch an unwieldy degree, that he was too large to repaſs through the hole by which he had entered, he, of courſe, became an eaſy

victim to the Maſter of the poultry, upon which he had gluttonized: this muſt alſo, infalliably, be the end of a war of merchants and monopoliſts.—Trading Monopoly is a creature all ſtomach and belly, with innumerable claws, a very little head, and no brain: ſuch a creature as this has been the preſiding genius of the preſent war. But to return.—The ſupplies of the iſland of St. Domingo being quite cut off by the Britiſh cruiſers, the French troops, preſſed on the land ſide by the Blacks, were compelled to ſurrender themſelves to the Britiſh ſquadron, and, by becoming our priſoners, their lives were ſecured; ſo that General Rochambeau, and a number of his officers, were brought to England. In conſequence of this turn of ſucceſs, Deſſalines, the Black Chief, found himſelf ſtrong enough to iſſue a proclamation; which, for boldneſs of language and brevity of expreſſion, ſeemed rather the production of France than the iſlands; of which the following is the ſubſtance:

"Crimes," ſays he, "the moſt atrocious, ſuch as were, until then, unheard of, and would cauſe nature to ſhudder, have been perpetrated: the meaſure was overheaped. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the rights of man have ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crimes! yes, we have rendered to theſe true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage: yes, I have ſaved my country; I have avenged America! The preſervation of my unfortunate brothers, the teſtimony of my own conſcience, are not my only recompenſe: I have ſeen two claſſes of men, born to cheriſh, aſſiſt, and ſuccour one another, mixed in a world, and blended together, crying for vengeance, and diſputing the honour of the firſt blow. Blacks

and Yellows! whom the refined duplicity of Europeans has, for a long time, endeavoured to divide; you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family! without doubt it was necessary that our perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers: maintain that precious concord, that happy harmony amongst yourselves; it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation, and your success; it is the secret of being invincible. Shall I again recal to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie! the deplorable fate of our departed brothers in Europe! Tremble, tyrants! usurpers! scourges of the new world! our daggers are sharpened! your punishment is ready! Sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the names of their assassinated brothers! Let that nation come who may be mad and daring enough to attack me!

"Already, at its approach, the irritated Genius of Hayti, arising out of the bosom of the ocean, appears! his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests, and with his mighty hand disperses ships, or dashes them in pieces; to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience: diseases, plagues, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? have I forgot that I commanded a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose audacious daring frowns at obstacles and increases by dangers? Let them come, then, these homicidal cohorts! I wait for them with firmness and with a steady eye. I abandon to them, freely, the sea shore, and the places where cities have existed; but woe to those who may

approach too near the mountains! it were better for them that the ſea received them in its profound abyſs, than to be devoured by the anger of the Children of Hayti! 'War, to death, to tyrants!' this is my motto. 'Liberty! independence!' this is our rallying cry.

"As it is derogatory to my character and my dignity to puniſh the innocent for the crimes of the guilty; a handful of Whites, commendable by the religion they have always profeſſed, and who have, beſides, taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency: I order, that the ſword reſpect them, and that they be unmoleſted. I recommend anew, and order, to all the generals of departments, &c. to grant ſuccours, encouragement, and protection, to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wiſh to eſtabliſh commercial relations in this iſland."

Unfortunately for the people of Hayti, this flaming Proclamation proved little more than an empty ſound. Deſſalines ſeemed to forget that he had not yet driven the Philiſtines quite out of the land: the Spaniards, who were ſtill in the French intereſt, remained in poſſeſſion of the city and port of St. Domingo; and it appeared that the French troops, which afterwards occupied that city, under General Ferrand, were too powerful, and too well ſkilled in the arts of annoyance and defence, to be driven out, even by the ſixty thouſand warriors, of which the infuriated Deſſalines had boaſted. He alſo addreſſed a proclamation to the Spaniards in that city, and, like a mere braggart, talked of burying the French they had with them under the ruins of that capital, and of purſuing them to their intrenchments: but the fact is, that, to the preſent

moment to these intrenchments neither Dessalines, nor his successors, could ever yet approach without being repulsed and defeated: what Dessalines threatened to execute in fifteen days is not likely to be performed in fifteen years!

Dessalines, in the end, proved a worse tyrant than his predecessors: he is said to have retorted upon the Europeans by an universal massacre; no less than twenty-six thousand Whites are said to have been put to death by his order! he had, also, issued orders, denouncing death against any of his subjects who should marry, or even keep, a White woman! still, if some few were left alive, they were only as objects for gratifying the passions. With a view also to enjoy his short-lived dignity, he is said to have coined money, established a Legion of Honour, and styled himself Emperor of Hayti. In fact, his conduct, both cruel and absurd, gave occasion to remark, "That, in preventing the French from reducing that island, the English had done irreparable injury to their own Colonies."

Very different from this tyrant was the more humane, but ill-fated, Toussaint L'Overture! We have, before, related his surrender to, and seizure by General Leclerc, who sent him to France. On this occasion a sensible writer observed: "Touffaint gave himself to the Conqueror of Marengo; and what was done with him, God, and a few confidential friends, only know!"

Some account of Toussaint may not be disagreeable to our readers, now we have mentioned his death, or his political disappearancee. He was originally a slave, but a native of St. Domingo; being born on the estate of the *ci-devant* Count de Noe,

about four miles from Cape François; but he was near fifty years of age when he came into notice. He had, by his own induſtry, learned to read and write: Monſieur Bayon, the overſeer, took him to be his coachman, and, ſome time after, gave him the charge of a number of ſlaves. On the breaking out of the troubles Touſſaint kept aloof from intrigue, and was never accuſed of offering violence to any of the Whites, who were maſſacred in 1791, upon the firſt breaking out of the troubles: but as Biaſſou, one of the Black chiefs, ſucceeded in his deſigns and took up arms, Touſſaint fled to his camp, and acted as ſecretary, adviſer, or agent. In this new office Touſſaint found ſcope for his genius: he diſplayed a ſurpriſing talent for military affairs, ſo that he was ſoon raiſed to the rank of Captain in the Guards, and his next ſtep was to the command of a diviſion: in this rank he was, when the war breaking out between Spain and France, the former power engaged him and Jean François in their ſervice: and now Touſſaint found himſelf a Lieutenant-general of the armies of the King of Spain, in their part of St. Domingo, called Hiſpaniola. Polverel and Santhonax, two commiſſioners from the Council of Five Hundred, endeavoured to draw theſe two Black officers into the ſervice of the Republic, and this they, at length, effected. The firſt act of Touſſaint's, which ingratiated him with the Republicans, was his releaſing General Lavaux from priſon, in Cape François, into which he had been thrown by the ſeditious, and was intended to have been their victim. This unexpected event raiſed Touſſaint ſo high, that Lavaux proclaimed him "The Avenger of the Conſtituted Authorities, and the Saviour of the White People!"

The General farther complimented him, with being that Negro that Spartacus foretold, by the Abbe Raynal, who ſhould avenge the wrongs of his own race: he was made General of Diviſion and Lieutenant-governor of St. Domingo. It was, in fact, owing to the bravery of Touſſaint, that Mirabalais, Grand Bois, and ſeveral other places, were wreſted from the Britiſh; ſo that, in the courſe of one year, Touſſaint was created General in Chief of the armies of St. Domingo; and his zeal and exploits were the ſubjects of eulogium in the tribune of the Council of Ancients, and all France was filled with his dazzling renown! This elevation turned the head of Touſſaint; he now wiſhed to get rid of the government Commiſſioner, by ſending him home to France.—Touſſaint had actually gained a number of officers over to his propoſal: but Etienne Mentor, another negro, at that time Adjutant-general, ſteadily reſiſted it: he adminiſtered the oath of fidelity to the French Republic, and death to whomſoever might ſpeak of ſeparation from the Mother Country. As ſoon as Touſſaint heard of this, he ſent Chriſtophe (the ſame who ſet fire to Cape François) to arreſt him, and he was lodged in priſon. This, however, did not terrify the officers who were attached to the Mother Country; and General Leveille and Colonel Gaſſonville loudly expreſſed their indignation at Touſſaint's project, and even propoſed to put him under an arreſt: but as the firſt accuſer is, ſometimes, credited, whether right or wrong; ſo this was the caſe with Touſſaint: he ſent agents to the Directory, to make them believe that Santhonax, the Commiſſioner, wanted to uſurp the ſupreme power of the colony; and he triumphed over the Commiſſioner: in fact, the Directory were ſo much deceived, that

they ſent Touſſaint preſents of a coſtly dreſs, a ſuperb ſabre, and ſeveral pair of piſtols!

But though Santhonax was withdrawn, and Touſſaint's enemies were obliged to hide their heads at St. Domingo; the French Government, not chooſing to leave the whole adminiſtration, civil and military, in his hands, ſent General Hedouville, a man of good character and military knowledge, to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of affairs: but Touſſaint, in ſeveral inſtances, reſiſted his authority; for ſome of the Britiſh troops being then in the iſland, Touſſaint ſigned the capitulation, which General Maitland was obliged to enter into, without the participation of General Hedouville, the lawful commiſſioner from the Mother Country: this, in the firſt inſtance, rendered Touſſaint deſperate, he deviated further and further from the line of his duty as a ſubject; ſo that, even after his ſurrender to General Leclerc, it is not ſtrange that he ſhould have intrigued for the recovery of his loſt influence; and thus, wanting either fidelity or firmneſs, he could naturally expect no other treatment from the hands of the French Government than that which he had thus merited, as a dangerous or very weak man; who, when he might have had the Firſt Conſul for his friend, choſe rather to make him his enemy.

But, that the aid of religion might not be wanting on this ſide of the water; or, rather, that the political part of the prieſthood ſhould have an opportunity, as pretended miniſters of the goſpel, to further the temporary views of the miniſters of ſtate, the 25th day of May, 1804, was proclaimed a day of ſolemn faſting and humiliation.—The Emperor of Ruſſia

had alſo, to expreſs a regret for the Duke D'Enghien, and to ſhew his regard for the ancient blood-royal of France, ordered all his ambaſſadors at foreign courts to go into mourning: the French Royaliſts in England, likewiſe, had a ſolemn maſs performed for the repoſe of the ſoul of the Duke; and this the pliable Engliſh newſpapers repreſented as an act of great piety! But what gave more weight to our own Faſt was his Majeſty's illneſs: on that account daily bulletins had long been iſſued at St. James's and the Manſion-houſe, and which, at laſt, gave birth to two different Forms of Prayer; viz. an original and a corrected edition: but even this, though mean and ſervile to the Monarch, ſeems highly reproachful to the Almighty, as it repreſents him (as in the caſe of Charles the Firſt, the church-made martyr!) ſmiting the King for the people, the juſt for the unjuſt! This extraordinary Addreſs runs thus:

"Have mercy upon thy ſervant, our Sovereign! whom thou haſt repeatedly ſmitten for the tranſgreſſions of his people. We acknowledge, that, for our manifold ſins, we are worthy of the ſeverity of thy judgments: yet, we beſeech thee, incline thine ear to us, when with penitent and contrite hearts we turn unto thee; and remove from our Sovereign, and from us, theſe dreadful viſitations. We yield thee thanks and praiſe, O Lord! for thy great mercy already manifeſted towards us, in his recovery from his late dangerous ſickneſs: confirm and eſtabliſh, we beſeech thee, O Lord! the work which thou haſt begun."

By the "dreadful viſitations," ſpecified in the Prayer, it is ſuppoſed that the poſſibility of an invaſion was hinted at. "But who would have thought," as a ſenſible writer obſerved, "when the war had exiſted only a few months, that its oſtenſible object, viz.

Malta, or foreign dominion, ſhould have been given up, and the people be given to underſtand that it was then a war of domeſtic ſecurity? who would have thought of ſuch a compoſition as public prayers and paliſades, the formation of camps and congregations? who, in that hour of bravado, ever thought that a plan would be delivered out, by authority, for defending the Capital by lines of circumvallation? So that all the boaſt of thoſe who made the war was—only the glory of being able to defend themſelves!"

But much having been ſaid, both in and out of parliament, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, reſpecting the French ſmall craft preparing, in their own and the ports of Holland, for the invaſion of this country, (notwithſtanding Mr. Pitt had compared our navy to giants and theirs to pigmies) it was, at length, thought proper to take ſome account of them.—Sir Sidney Smith being, accordingly, inveſted with a command, was ſtationed between Fluſhing and Oſtend, where he ſoon had an opportunity of encountering the French flotilla, under the Dutch admiral Verheul. The following Diſpatch, giving a detail of this tranſaction, is neither diſhonourable to Sir Sidney nor the enemy with whom he was engaged.

DISPATCH

From Commodore SIR SIDNEY SMITH; *containing an Account of his Attack upon the French Flotilla; dated Antelope, at anchor off Oſtend, May 17th: addreſſed to* LORD KEITH, *K. B. &c.*

"MY LORD,

"Information from all quarters, and the evident ſtate of readineſs in which the Enemy's armaments were, in Helvoet, Fluſhing, and Oſtend, indicating the probability of a general movement from thoſe ports, I reinforced Captain

Manby, off Helvot, with one ſhip, and directed Captain Hancock, of the Cruiſer, ſtationed in-ſhore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the ſquadron of gunboats ſtationed off Oſtend: the Antelope, Penelope, and Amiable, occupied a central poſition, in ſight both of Fluſhing and Oſtend, in anxious expectation of the Enemy's appearance. Yeſterday, at half-paſt-five A.M. I received information from Captain Hancock, then off Oſtend, that the Enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier,-and had already twenty-one one-maſted veſſels and one ſchooner outſide in the roads; and, at half-paſt ſeven the ſame morning, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Fluſhing flotilla, of fifty-nine ſail; viz. two ſhip-rigged praams, nineteen ſchooners, and thirty-eight ſchuyts, ſteering along ſhore from that port towards Oſtend, under circumſtances which allowed me to hope I ſhould be able to bring them to action. The ſignal was made in the Cruiſer and Rattler for an enemy in the E.S.E. to call their attention from Oſtend; the ſquadron weighed the moment the flood made and allowed of the heavier ſhips following them over the banks: the ſignals to chaſe and engage were obeyed with alacrity, ſpirit, and judgment, by the active and experienced officers your Lordſhip has done me the honour to place under my orders. Captains Hancock and Maſon attacked this formidable line with the greateſt gallantry and addreſs, attaching themſelves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themſelves, independent of the croſs-fire from the ſchooners and ſchuyts; I ſent the Amiable, by ſignal, to ſupport them. The Penelope having an able pilot, (Mr. Thornton) on ſignal being made to engage, Captain Broughton worked up to the centre of the Enemy's line, as near as the ſhoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand to cut the van off from Oſtend. Unfortunately, our gunboats were not in ſight, having; as I underſtood ſince, devoted their attention to preventing the Oſtend diviſion from moving Weſtward. The Enemy attempted to get back to Fluſhing; but being haraſſed by the

Cruiſer and the Rattler, and the wind coming more eaſterly againſt them. they were obliged to run the gauntlet to the Weſtward, keeping cloſe to the beach, under the protection of the batteries. Having found a paſſage for the Antelope within the Stroom Sand, ſhe was enabled to bring her broadſide to bear on the headmoſt ſchooners before they got the length of Oſtend. The leader ſtruck immediately and the crew deſerted her; ſhe was, however, recovered by the followers. The artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gunboats from the pier, kept up a conſtant and well directed fire for their ſupport; our ſhot, however, which went over the ſchooners, going aſhore, among the horſe artillery, interrupted it in a degree; ſtill, however, it was from the ſhore we received the greateſt annoyance; for the ſchooners and ſchuyts crowding along could not bring their prow guns to bear without altering their courſe towards us, which they could not venture; and their ſide guns, though numerous and well ſerved, were very light. In this manner the Penelope and Antelope engaged every part of their long line from four to eight, while the Amiable, Cruiſer, and Rattler, continued to preſs their rear. Since two o'clock the ſternmoſt praam ſtruck her colours and ran on ſhore; but the artillerymen from the army got on board, and ſhe renewed her fire on the Amiable with the preciſion of a land battery, from which that ſhip ſuffered much. Captain Bolton ſpeaks much in praiſe of Lieutenant Mather, who is wounded. Several of the ſchooners and ſchuyts, immediately under the fire of the ſhips, were driven on ſhore in like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling, and leaving us in little more water than we could draw, we were, reluctantly, obliged to haul off into deeper water to keep afloat, and the Enemy's veſſels that were not on ſhore, or too much ſhattered, were thus able to reach Oſtend; theſe, and the Oſtend diviſion, have hauled into the baſon. I have anchored in ſuch a poſition as to keep an eye on them;

and I shall endeavour to close with them again, if they move into deeper water. I have to regret, that, from the depth of water in which these vessels move, gunboats only can act against them with effect; four have joined me, and I have sent them in to see what they can do with the prâam that is on shore. I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to your Lordship, of the gallant and steady conduct of the captains, commanders, officers, seamen, and marines, under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for six hours against a great superiority of fire, particularly from the army on shore, the howitzer shells annoying them much. These officers deserve the highest praise I can give them: they speak of the conduct of their lieutenants, officers, and crews, in terms of warm panegyric. Messrs. Budd and Dalyell, from the Antelope, acted in the absence of two lieutenants of those ships. Lieutenants Garrety and Patful, commanding the Favourite and Stag cutters, did their best, with their small guns, against greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieutenant Hillier, of the Antelope, gave me all the assistance and support on her quarter-deck his ill-state of health would permit. Lieutenant Stokes, and Mr. Sleffer, acting lieutenants, directed the fire on the lower and main decks, with coolness and precision. It would be the highest injustice, if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the master, Mr. Nunn and Mr. Webb, pilots, to whose steadiness, skill, and attention, particularly the former, I shall ever feel myself indebted, for having brought the Antelope into action within the sands, where certainly the Enemy could not expect to be met by a ship of her size; and for having allowed her to continue engaged with Commodore Verheuil, to the last minute it was possible to remain in such shoal water with a falling tide. It is but justice to say, the Enemy's commodore pursued a steady course, notwithstanding our fire, and returned it with spirit to the last. I could not detach open

boats in the Enemy's line, to pick up thoſe veſſels which had ſtruck, and were deſerted, mixed as they were with thoſe ſtill firing. Captain Hancock ſent me one ſchuyt that had hauled out of the line and ſurrendered. She had a lieutenant, and 23 ſoldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch ſeamen on board. She is ſo uſeful here I cannot part with her yet. Incloſed is a liſt of our loſs; which, though great, is leſs than might have been expected, owing to the Enemy's directing their fire at our maſts. The Rattler and the Cruiſer, have, of courſe, ſuffered moſt in the latter reſpect, but are nearly ready for ſervice again. The ſmoke would not allow us to ſee the effect of our ſhot on the enemy; but their loſs, conſidering the number of them under our guns for ſo long a time, muſt be great in proportion. We ſee the maſt-heads above water of three of the ſchooners, and one of the ſchuyts, which were ſunk.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Lord Keith, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in Action with the Enemy's Flotilla, May 16, 1804.

"Antelope: two ſeamen and one private marine wounded. Penelope: three ſeamen killed and four ſeamen wounded. Amiable: Mr. Chriſtie, maſter's-mate, Mr. Johnſon, midſhipman, four ſeamen, and one boy, killed; Lieutenant W. Mather, Mr Shawell, purſer, Mr. Connor, midſhipman, and 11 ſeamen, wounded. Cruiſer: one ſeaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and three ſeamen, wounded. Total: two petty officers, 10 ſeamen, and one boy, killed; one lieutenant, one purſer, four petty officers, 25 ſeamen, and one private marine, wounded.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Without recurring to the French account of this affair, which repreſents it as a matter of complete triumph; it is evident, from Sir Sidney's diſpatch,

that he could not arreſt the Enemy's progreſs, and that even the Amiable frigate was not able to cope with a ſingle praam; merely, "becauſe the artillerymen from the army got on board, when the ſaid praam renewed her fire on the Amiable with the preciſion of a land battery!" This is a very ſingular acknowledgment of the *formidable nature of the French artillerymen from the army.* As a proof of the conſequence that Buonaparté attached to this engagement; it is well known, that, from this period, the Dutch Admiral, Verheul, became a great favourite with him; and it is equally well known, and has been pretty well felt in Europe, that Buonaparté does not beſtow his favours upon fools or coxcombs.

CHAPTER IX.

Further Attempts upon the French Coaſt.—The Conſtitution Cutter ſunk before Boulogne.—The murderous Nature of thoſe Attacks elucidated from our own Diſpatches.—The Catamaran Expedition.—Fruitleſs Attempt at Calais. Blowing up and Seizure of the Spaniſh Treaſure Ships.—The dignified Sentiments of the Duke of Clarence on this Occaſion.—Spaniſh Declaration of War, and the Addreſs of the Prince of Peace.—Reflections.

WHILE the French Emperor was making a tour to his different ſea-ports, to Aix-la-Chapelle, and other places, it ſeems that our ſquadron, cruiſing off Boulogne, choſe the moment he was at that port to attack a part of the flotilla that had ventured out of the road. The French juſtly boaſted that no ſerious impreſſion was made by this attempt; as ſome proof of this, our own accounts allow that the Conſtitution cutter was ſunk, though the crew was ſaved; but, as uſual, whenever we ſuſtained any damage in theſe ſort of attempts, according to the gazettes and the newſpapers, it was never from the ſhips, but always from the batteries on ſhore, to which they, unwillingly, imputed an amazing degree of dexterity, in being thus able to avoid their own, and only to ſtrike our veſſels, which were beyond them!

The murderous nature of theſe engagements, and the degree of equality that the French poſſeſſed in fighting their ſmall craft this way, will more plainly appear in the following Letters from Captains Owen and Hancock.

Immortalité, off Boulogne, Oct. 25.

"SIR,

"Being off Cape Griſnez, and proceeding to my ſtation before Boulogne, I, this afternoon, about half-paſt-three, diſcovered a diviſion of the enemy's veſſels, conſiſting of three praam ſhips, ſeven brigs, and fifteen luggers, which ſoon after bore up to the Weſtward, keeping cloſe to the beach, under cover of their batteries, and accompanied by horſe artillery, making the beſt of their way to ſhelter themſelves within the Blanc de Laine. By making all ſail to windward, I was enabled to cloſe the praams (which kept together) about a quarter before five, and to open my fire upon them within the diſtance of grape ſhot, under the high land of Cape Blanc Nez, the enemy ſtill puſhing to the Weſtward, and returning at firſt a briſk fire, but it, latterly, ſlackened much. This running fight continued till near ſix; when, having been thrice obliged to ſheer out into deeper water, we found ourſelves ſtill within the end of the Blanc de Laine, where the falling tide prevented us from following them, and obliged us to haul off. Our little Calais ſquadron was to windward following the enemy, of which the Oreſtes and Baſiliſk joined me in the firſt attack, giving me every ſupport and aſſiſtance during the whole of the action; their commanders gave me much ſatisfaction in conducting them. The other veſſels of that ſquadron did not get within gun-ſhot. I endeavoured to cloſe the enemy again, as they paſſed from behind the Blanc to round Cape Griſnez, and did get ſight of a few of the veſſels; but, though we paſſed within half gun-ſhot of the Cape, they were ſo effectually ſcreened from our ſight by the dark ſhade of the land that I could do nothing, and am unable to ſay whether the whole number got down to Boulogne, or whether (as I ſuſpect) a part of them anchored in Whitſand Bay. It is not poſſible for me to ſpeak too highly of the conduct of every officer and every man; each, in his ſtation, gave me the fulleſt ſatisfaction: but it gives me ſerious pain to add, that of

theſe brave fellows, one was killed, and ten wounded, (three mortally) beſides the third lieutenant, Charles Burrough Strong, of whoſe aſſiſtance I was deprived before a ſhot was fired by us, &c. &c. I am, &c.

"E. W. C. R. OWEN."

"P. S. From the manner in which our grape-ſhot covered the Enemy's veſſels, their loſs in men muſt be very great. I never ſaw guns pointed better or ſo coolly."

Another Letter, tranſmitted by Lord Keith from Captain Hancock, of the Cruiſer, ſtates, "That part of the enemy's flotilla, conſiſting of two praam ſhips, bearing the flag of Chief of Diviſion, and both under French colours, with 18 ſchuyts, put to ſea from Oſtend, on the 23d. At this time, the Cruiſer ſloop, the Blazer, Conflict, Tigreſs, Admiral Mitchell, Griffin, and Eſcort gun-brigs, were ſtanding in to reconnoitre that port. The Cruiſer brought the headmoſt praam ſhip to cloſe action at fifteen minutes paſt five, ſupported by the gun-brigs and cutters, and continued it, with great apparent effect, till thirty-five minutes paſt ſix. It falling dark, and being in leſs than three fathoms water, the Conflict took ground, and the tide left her ſo rapidly, that every effort Lieutenant Ormſby uſed to get her afloat was unſucceſsful, and he was under the neceſſity of quitting her, with his people, who came on board the Cruiſer. Captain Hancock immediately ordered him, with his people, back to the Conflict, to uſe every exertion to get her afloat when the tide made, or to deſtroy her. He ſent the Admiral Mitchell cutter to aſſiſt and protect him; and the Cruiſer's boats were ſent under Mr. Fothergill, maſter of the Cruiſer. The ebb-tide prevented the boats getting in for a conſiderable time; when they had got near,

they had the mortification to find the Conflict high and dry on the beach, and in complete poſſeſſion of the Enemy. His boats accordingly returned to the Cruiſer at two A. M. making their report of the ſtate of the Conflict. Captain Hancock, ſtill determined to prevent the Conflict from getting into the hands of the enemy, ſent a party, under Lieutenant Forbes, to attack her; but the Enemy had got her up on the beach, and the party returned. On this occaſion the cutter received very conſiderable damage in ſtanding in, from the howitzers and field artillery, which the enemy had collected on the beach during the night, by which one man was killed and ſeveral wounded. Amongſt the latter, Lieutenant A. Garland, acting Lieutenant of the Cruiſer, loſt his right leg, very high up; he was, with admirable gallantry, with his party, getting into the boats to board the enemy, even under the diſcouraging circumſtances of her being ſtill aground, when he received the wound. One of the praams was obſerved by the boats to be high and dry on the beach, at ten o'clock this morning, to the Weſtward of the Conflict, but ſhe got off, I apprehend, at high water, and proceeded to the Weſtward. The Conflict was irrecoverably loſt.

We ſhould have noticed the Catamaran Expedition previouſly to the more ſerious *rencontres* in which Captain Owen and his ſquadron were engaged, as this famous experiment was tried on the 3d of October; but, though firſt in point of time, we judged it laſt in its importance or conſequence. Theſe Catamarans, which were to burn the French ſhips in their harbours, were, in reality, little more than caiſſoons filled with combuſtibles and powder;

and fire-ſhips to be ſent among the French boats, thus to blow up ſome, ſink others, and ſet the remainder on fire. To put this promiſing plan into execution, Admiral Keith made ſail with his fleet in the Downs, taking with him the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty to witneſs the glorious ruin. Even the night favoured their views; the caiſſoons were towed as near as poſſible to the boats, and went off, from a contrivance of clock work, making a prodigious noiſe and exploſion; the fire-ſhips, ſoon after, increaſing the confuſion: the batteries on ſhore, and the Britiſh ſhips of war, kept up a conſtant fire on each other.

According to the Engliſh newſpapers, thoſe undeviating oracles of deception, 150 gunboats had been ſunk or deſtroyed; more accurate accounts continually diminiſhed this advantage; till, at laſt, it appeared, that the real number of the French boats was ſcarcely, if it all, diminiſhed! Thus the immenſe fortifications conſtructed upon our coaſt, and the expenſive ſpecies of warfare carried on by us upon that of France, was ruinous in ſeveral reſpects; while the loſs of the French was confined to a few gunboats, occaſionally ſunk or run aground.

Admiral Keith's diſpatches mention, that, when he arrived off Boulogne upon this buſineſs, he found about 150 of the enemy's veſſels on the *outſide* of the pier. In the ſame diſpatches he ſays "The ſervice was undertaken not only in the face of, but *immediately* under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, their field artillery and muſketry upon the coaſt, and 150 armed veſſels, ranged round the *inner*

ſide of the bay." Query, are theſe the ſame that were on the *outſide* of the pier; or, were the Britiſh abſolutely between two ſquadrons, conſiſting of 300 ſail of French, without being able to deſtroy them with their caiſſoons, fire-ſhips, &c.? However this may be, the French allow that ſome few of their people were deſtroyed by the burſting of ſome of our combuſtibles; but, notwithſtanding the ſilence of Lord Keith on this occaſion, they aſſert that his ſquadron returned to Deal and Dover with about 200 men leſs than he brought out with him.

In the beginning of December another attempt was made upon the French coaſt; viz. to blow up a part of Fort Rouge at Calais, when an exploſion veſſel was fired; but not being able to get ſufficiently near, it does not appear to have done any effectual injury to the enemy.

This year was, indeed, fruitful in maritime operations. We had an ambaſſador at the Court of Madrid: we had a fleet upon the Spaniſh coaſt, which was victualled and ſupplied with freſh proviſions, &c. every day, from Cadiz, in the moſt friendly manner; but the cruel and avaricious ſpirit of gain, that had entered into all the plans of Mr. Pitt, having ſuggeſted to him the eaſy manner in which we might get poſſeſſion of ſome Spaniſh frigates, then returning home, laden with treaſure; it was determined, without ſcruple, to ſacrifice both the laws of honour and hoſpitality. Captain Moore, of the Indefatigable, was diſpatched to lie in wait for the unſuſpecting ſquadron; and the following is the official Account of that ſcandalous tranſaction, which he tranſmitted to Admiral Cornwallis.

Indefatigable at Sea, Oct. 6, 1804.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that I have executed the ſervice you did me the honour to charge me with. On the morning of the 29th of September the Indefatigable got off Cadiz; on the 30th we fell in with the Meduſa; Captain Gore having informed me the Amphion was in the Strait's mouth, and that the Triumph was off Gibraltar, and that Sir Robert Barlow meant to go into Cadiz, for the trade there, on his way to England; I thought fit to ſend the Meduſa to appriſe Sir Robert Barlow of the nature of my order, that he might then judge whether or not he ſhould go into Cadiz; and I directed Captain Gore to rejoin me with the Amphion as ſoon as poſſible, off Cape St. Mary. On the 2d inſt. I was joined by the Lively, and on the 3d. by the Meduſa and Amphion; the latter having communicated what I thought neceſſary to Sir Robert Barlow. Yeſterday morning, Cape St. Mary, bearing N. E. nine leagues, the Meduſa made the ſignal for four ſail W. by S. I made the ſignal for a general chace; at 8 A. M. diſcovered them to be four large Spaniſh frigates, which formed the line of battle ahead on our approach, and continued to ſteer in for Cadiz, the vanſhip carrying a broad pendant, and the ſhip next to her a rear admiral's flag. Captain Gore, being the headmoſt ſhip, placed the Meduſa on the weather-beam of the Commodore; the Indefatigable took a ſimilar poſition alongſide of the Rear-admiral; the Amphion and Lively each taking an opponent in the ſame manner, as they came up. After hailing, to make them ſhorten ſail, without effect, I fired a ſhot acroſs the Rear-admiral's fore-foot, on which he ſhortened ſail; and I ſent Lieutenant Aſcott, of the Indefatigable, to inform him, that my orders were to detain his ſquadron; that it was my earneſt wiſh to execute them without bloodſhed; but that his determination muſt be made inſtantly: after waiting ſome time, I made a ſignal for the boat, and fired a ſhot ahead

of the Admiral. As soon as the officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, I fired another shot ahead of the Admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow. At this moment the Admiral's second astern fired into the Amphion; the Admiral fired into the Indefatigable; and I made the signal for close battle, which was instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of English sailors. In less than ten minutes, La Mercedes, the admiral's second astern, blew up, alongside the Amphion, with a tremendous explosion. Captain Sutton having, with great judgment, and much to my satisfaction, placed himself to leeward of that ship, the escape of the Spanish Admiral's ship was rendered almost impossible; in less than half an hour she struck, as did the opponent of the Lively. Perceiving at this moment the Spanish Commodore was making off, and seeming to have the heels of the Medusa, I made the signal for the Lively to join in the chase, having before noticed the superior sailing of that ship. Captain Hammond did not lose an instant; and we had the satisfaction, long before sunset, to see from our masthead that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the Medusa and Lively. As soon as our boats had taken possession of the Rear-admiral, we made sail for the floating fragments of the unfortunate Spanish frigate which blew up; but, excepting forty, taken up by the Amphion's boats, all on board perished! This squadron was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear admiral. They are from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata; and, from the information of the captain of the flag-ship, contained about four millions of dollars, 800,000 of which were on board the Mercedes, which blew up. Other accounts state the quantity of specie to be much greater, public and private; and there is, besides, much valuable merchandise on board the captured ships. Our loss has been very trifling: I have not yet had the returns from other ships, but the Indefatigable did not lose a man. The Spaniards suffered chiefly in

their rigging, which was our object. The captains of the different ships conducted themselves so ably, that no honour accrues to me, but the fortunate accident of being senior officer.

"G. MOORE."

Force of the Spanish Squadron.

La Medée (flag ship) 42 guns, 18-pounders, and 300 men, taken; two men killed, and ten wounded. La Fama, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, taken; eleven killed, and fifty wounded. La Clara, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 300 men, taken; seven killed, and twenty wounded. La Mercedes, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, blew up; second captain and forty men saved.

A most melancholy circumstance took place in consequence of the explosion of the Mercedes, one of the Spanish squadron. In it was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from America with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of twenty five years industry, did this unhappy man embark for his native country. A short time before the action began, he, with one of his sons, went on board the largest of the ships, and, in a few minutes, became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean! This victim of almost unheard-of calamity arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

Doubtleſs, the nation at large would have been moſt ſenſibly affected at the calamity thus inflicted, had not all the tools of corruption been ſet to work, in the public papers, to repreſent that the ſeizure of the Spaniſh money was only a meaſure of neceſſity and precaution, to prevent it from falling into the hands of Buonaparté. This wretched kind of reaſoning paſſed very well at Lloyd's Coffeehouſe and at the Stock Exchange, but the diſintereſted and more exalted claſſes of people were aſhamed of it: even the Duke of Clarence, who had never been a ſyſtematic oppoſer of the miniſtry, had the courage and independence of mind to declare, ſome time after, in the Houſe of Lords, "that the miniſtry had begun the preſent war with Spain by *an act of piracy and murder!*"

Thoſe who planned this daring act, it ſeems, had flattered themſelves that it might poſſibly have the effect of detaching the Spaniards by one blow, as it were, from their alliance with Buonaparté, and induce them, rather than riſk all their wealth at ſea, to throw themſelves into the arms of Britain: the ſame hopes were entertained when the late daring attack was made upon Copenhagen, and the ſame diſappointment and accumulated diſaſters occurred in both caſes: Spaniſh honour, weakened as the nation had been by a long war with France, and humbled as it was by the afflicting hand of Providence, ſtill roſe ſuperior to all thoughts of accommodating the inſult it had received. The Court of Spain did not even heſitate about preferring war: and, on the 12th of December, the Madrid Gazette contained the following

DECLARATION.

"The Peace, which Europe beheld with ſo much delight re-eſtabliſhed at Amiens, has, unfortunately for the welfare

of nations, proved but of ſhort duration: the rejoicings, with which this happy event was celebrated upon all ſides, were ſcarcely concluded, when the public ſatisfaction began to be troubled and the advantage of the peace to diſappear. The Cabinets of London and Paris held Europe ſuſpended and agitated between its terrors and its hopes; ſeeing the event of the negotiations every day become more uncertain, until the moment that diſcord arrived at ſuch an height as to kindle between them the fire of a war, which muſt naturally extend itſelf to other powers; ſince it was very difficult for Spain and Holland, who had treated jointly with France at Amiens, and whoſe intereſts and political relations are ſo reciprocally connected, to avoid, finally, taking part in the grievances and offences offered to their Ally. In theſe circumſtances, his Majeſty, ſupported by the moſt ſolid principles of a wiſe policy, preferred pecuniary ſubſidies to the contingent of troops and ſhips, with which he was bound to aſſiſt France, in virtue of the treaty of alliance in 1796; and, as well by means of his Miniſter in London as of the Engliſh agents at Madrid, he gave the Britiſh Government to underſtand, in the moſt poſitive manner, his decided and firm reſolution to remain neutral during the war; making no doubt that he ſhould quickly have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that theſe ingenuous aſſurances were well received by the Court of London. Nevertheleſs, that cabinet, which muſt have reſolved, in ſilence, beforehand, for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of the war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and ſolemnities preſcribed by the law of nations, but by means of poſitive aggreſſions, which ſhould turn to its own profit, ſought the moſt frivolous pretexts to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonſtrations, at the ſame time, to the deſires of his Britannic Majeſty to preſerve the peace; all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spaniſh Government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the Engliſh nation upon

its own premeditated and unjuſt deſigns, which could in no manner be approved by that nation. Thus it is, that, in London, it appeared artfully to accept various reclamations from Spaniſh individuals, which were addreſſed to it; while its agents in Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their own ſovereign: but they never ſhewed themſelves ſatisfied with the frankneſs and friendſhip with which all their notes were anſwered, rather anxious for proclaiming and magnifying armaments which had no exiſtence; and pretending, contrary to the moſt poſitive proteſts on the part of Spain, that the pecuniary ſuccours given to France were not merely an equivalent for the troops and ſhips, which were ſtipulated in the treaty of 1796, but an indefinite and immenſe ſtock, which did not permit them to conſider Spain in any other light than as a principal party in the war. Moreover, as there was not time entirely to baniſh the illuſion under which they laboured, they exacted, as the preciſe conditions upon which they would conſider Spain as neutral, the ceſſation of every armament in her ports, and a prohibition of the ſale of prizes brought into them: and, notwithſtanding that both of theſe conditions, although urged in a tone ſuperlatively haughty and unuſual in political tranſactions, were immediately complied with, and religiouſly obſerved, they perſiſted, nevertheleſs, to manifeſt their want of confidence, and they quitted Madrid with eagerneſs, immediately after receiving diſpatches from their Court, of which they did not communicate a particle of the contents. The connexion, which reſults from all this, between the conduct of the Cabinets of London and Madrid, muſt be ſufficient to ſhew clearly to all Europe, the bad faith, and the ſecret and perverſe aims, of the Engliſh miniſtry; even if they had not manifeſted them by the abominable crime of the ſurpriſe, battle, and capture, of the Four Spaniſh Frigates; which, navigating in the full ſecurity which peace inſpires, were fraudulently attacked, in conſequence of orders from the Engliſh Government, ſigned in the very moment in

which it was faithlefsly exacting conditions for the prolongation of the peace, in which every poſſible ſecurity was given to it, and in which its own veſſels were provided with proviſions and refreſhments in the ports of Spain: thoſe very veſſels, which were enjoying the moſt perfect hoſpitality, and were experiencing the fidelity with which Spain was proving to England the good faith of her engagements, and how firm her reſolutions were to maintain her neutrality—thoſe very ſhips carried, concealed in the boſoms of their commanders, the unjuſt orders of the Engliſh Cabinet for aſſaulting Spaniſh property on the ſeas—iniquitous orders, and profuſely circulated; ſince all its veſſels of war, on the ſeas of America and Europe, were already detaining and carrying into its harbours as many Spaniſh veſſels as they met with, without reſpecting even the cargoes of grain, which were coming from all parts, to ſuccour a faithful nation in a year of the greateſt calamity. Barbarous orders! (ſince they deſerve no other name,) to ſink every Spaniſh ſhip under an hundred tons; to burn thoſe which they found on ſhore on the coaſt; and to make prize of, and carry to Malta, thoſe only which exceeded an hundred tons! The maſter of a laud, of Valentia, of fifty-four tons, has made this declaration: That he effected his eſcape in his launch upon the 16th of November, on the coaſt of Catalonia, when his veſſel was ſunk by an Engliſh veſſel, whoſe captain took from him his papers and his flag; and informed him, that he had received theſe expreſs inſtructions from his Court. In ſpite of ſuch atrocious actions, which proved, to perfect evidence, the covetous and hoſtile views which the Engliſh Cabinet had meditated, it was ſtill able to carry on further its perfidious ſyſtem of blinding the public opinion; alleging, for this purpoſe, that the Spaniſh frigates had not been carried into the Engliſh ports in quality of prizes, but as being detained until Spain ſhould give the deſired ſecurities, that ſhe would obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. And what greater ſecurities could, or ought, Spain to give? what civilized nation, until this hour, has made uſe of means ſo unjuſt and

violent to exact securities of another? Although England should find, at last, any claim to exact from Spain, in what manner could she justify it after a similar atrocity? what satisfaction could she be able to give for the lamentable destruction of the frigate Mercedes, with all its cargo, its equipage, and the great number of distinguished passengers who have perished, the innocent victims of a policy so detestable? Spain could not comply, with what she owes to herself, nor think herself able to maintain her well known honour and dignity amongst the greatest powers of Europe, were she any longer to shew herself insensible to such manifest outrages, and did not take care to revenge them with the nobleness and energy which belong to her character. Animated with these sentiments, the magnanimous breast of the King, after having exhausted (in order to preserve the peace) all the resources compatible with the dignity of his crown, finds himself in the hard predicament of making war upon the King of England, upon his subjects, and people; omitting the formalities of style by a solemn declaration and publication, owing to the English Cabinet's having begun and continued to make the war without declaring it. In consequence, after having given orders for an embargo, by way of reprisal, upon all English property in his dominions, and that the most convenient instructions, both for his own defence and the offence of the enemy, should be circulated to his viceroys, captains-general, and great officers of the marine; his Majesty has commanded his minister in London to retire, with all the Spanish legation; and his Majesty does not doubt, that all his subjects, inflamed with that just indignation, with which the violent proceedings of England must inspire them, will not omit any of all those means to which their valour shall prompt them, of co-operating with his Majesty towards the most complete vengeance for the insult offered to the Spanish flag."

The rest of this Declaration relates to the arming of corsairs, &c.

Extract from the Addreſs of his Excellency the Prince of Peace, Generaliſſimo of his Catholic Majeſty's Forces, to the Fleets, Armies, and People, of Spain. Iſſued at Madrid, December 10, 1804.

"The King has condeſcended to ſubmit to me, as Generaliſſimo of the Royal Armies, the conduct of the war commenced with Great Britain; and he commands, that all the principal officers of his dominions correſpond privately with me on the ſubject connected with the event. To comply with the terms of the confidence repoſed in me, and to fulfil the honourable duties enjoined me in the ſupreme authority over his gallant troops, with which I am inveſted; it is expedient that I call into activity my loyal zeal in his cauſe, and adopt the moſt effectual means to diſcharge this high and important office. It is univerſally known, that, when we were in a ſtate of profound peace with England, hoſtilities were commenced by that country, by the capture of three frigates; one was deſtroyed in the conteſt; a regiment of infantry, deſtined for Minorca, was made priſoners; many veſſels, laden with grain, were taken; and others, under the burthen of 100 tons, were deſtroyed. When were theſe robberies, theſe acts of treachery and aſſaſſination, committed? when our Sovereign admitted the ſhips of that nation to a free and undiſturbed commerce, and gave the neceſſary ſupplies to the ſhips of war! What profligacy and degradation in the one; what honour and dignity in the other! On the view of this perfidy, is there a Spaniard whoſe indignation is not excited? is there a ſoldier who will not graſp the weapon of deſtruction? Brave Seamen! 300 of your brethren have had their mangled members ſcattered to the winds!

one thouſand are deprived of the light of heaven, in the dungeons of your enemies! Valiant Soldiers! an equal number of your companions in arms are deprived of the ſwords they knew how to wield, and are carried to a remote iſland; where they will either periſh with hunger, or be conſtrained to unite with the ranks of the deteſted foe! Remember, then, your ſacred obligations. Generous Spaniards! a few innocent and defenceleſs Fiſhermen are reduced to the loweſt ſtep of human miſery, and their afflicted wives, and deſerted offspring, implore your pity, and demand your protection. In fine, thouſands of families, expecting ſupport from the wiſdom of the ſtate, in a ſeaſon of famine, are brutally deprived of the ſubſiſtence provided for them; and exclaim, with the voice of thunder, "Vengeance! Vengeance!" Let us, then, my Countrymen! obey; the King expects it, and honour and juſtice require it at our hands. If the Engliſh have forgotten that the blood which circulates in the veins of Spaniards, is the ſame which flowed in the breaſts of thoſe who triumphed over the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Saracen, it is time that the recollection ſhould be revived: it is time to convince them that we will preſerve the fame of our anceſtors unſullied, and ſhew to them, that we will perform our duty to poſterity, if it require that our ranks ſhould be thinned, to add to the glorious catalogue of Caſtillian heroiſm. If theſe diſtant Iſlanders have attributed our deſire to preſerve tranquillity within our borders to lamentable weakneſs, or to diſhonourable fear, let them, at leaſt, be taught, that the latter can never diſgrace the boſom of a Spaniard; glowing with all the ardent and liberal impreſſions peculiar to his

country. Quickly will we teach them, that a loyal, virtuous, and brave people, attached to religion, and enamoured of true glory, can never be insulted with impunity, much less can it endure an instance of sanguinary violence directed against its dignity and independence. If the English, unmindful of the principles of humanity, respected among civilized nations, abandoning all shame and remorse, have only sought to obtain possession of our treasures, which we should have peaceably delivered to them, had they been entitled to the property, we will recal to their memory a fact, which we trusted had been universally acknowledged—that the abuse of power, the violation of public right, and the mad excesses of despotism, have ever been the awful presage of the fall of empires. Let them hide their dishonoured heads; let them tremble in the contemplation of this ill-gotten wealth; let them shudder before the bloody victims of their aggression; and let an eternal mark of infamy be impressed, and universal detestation be excited, for these examples of public atrocity."

Those persons who consider the moral tendency of these circumstances, may be justly surprised that the late objections against the Copenhagen business have not been started before; since the seizure of the Spanish treasure, which gave birth to the war with that country, is a case exactly in point. It is strange, indeed, that the principle acted upon at Copenhagen, as it is by no means a new one with British ministers, should now, for the first time, be so loudly protested against, as to produce a public statement, that "Great Britain *has lost her moral rank among the nations.*" It was, indeed, incumbent upon British *honour*, at all

times, to have made such a declaration; but this not having been produced till the present moment, and then only in consequence of an act which threatens to extinguish our gainful trade in the North; it may be suspected, that *profit*, more than honour, for fear of being further pinched, has induced us to raise this outcry.

The same immoral principle, it appears, was most rigidly acted upon against the Spaniards; but then we had allies, whose prowess might be looked to to extricate us from the dilemma we had fallen into. The Russians were then preparing to take the field for us; at present, it appears, they are getting ready to act against us: therefore, our returning morality, it is most probable, may resemble a *death bed* repentance, rather than genuine contrition. And it must be evident to every man of rational or religious discernment, that the immoral principle, at present justly condemned, did not commence with the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, nor with the seizure of the Spanish treasure-ships in 1804; but has been the permanent soul that has animated the actions of all our ministers, Mr. Fox excepted, from the very first moment of the commencement of the present impolitic and disastrous war.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Pitt, and his Grocers, compared with Buonaparté and his Generals.—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold.—Linois Squadron defeated by Commodore Dance.—The Pope arrives at Paris.—Buonaparté's Coronation.—Addreſs of the Senate, and Buonaparté's Anſwer.—Concluſion of the Year 1804; *and the French Expoſé, or State of the Nation.*

AS ſome perſons have been extremely fond of comparing the late Mr. Pitt with Buonaparté; or, as we ſay, of game-cock, *pitting* them againſt each other, we ſhould not omit that one of the moſt ſignal actions of that ſuppoſed great man, in 1804, was, his dining in the city, with his *brother grocers*; when, as uſual, the company ſat down to a ſumptuous dinner; after which the patriotic, or rather the ſongs and toaſts of the mere trader and monopoliſt, were preferred. But, while Mr. Pitt was thus employed in courting the mercantile intereſt with his grocers, it is moſt probable that Buonaparté was employed with his generals. In Mr. Pitt's meeting we know of nothing that was produced beyond the powers or ſpirit of a pedlar: in thoſe of Buonaparté, from the amazing ſucceſſes that followed his deliberations, and in what he accordingly effected for his country, a man muſt be ſtrongly prejudiced indeed not to acknowledge the maſterly genius and the true patriot.

Had there been none to execute better than Mr. Pitt and his colleagues had planned, perhaps the

few victories and advantages that diſtinguiſhed his fatal adminiſtration would have been thrown into a much deeper ſhade of oblivion than otherwiſe. They were, probably, pluming themſelves with the notion that the French Emperor had made but a very ſilly bargain with the Spaniards, in perſuading them to cede Louſiania to the French, becauſe we had it in our power to prevent him from taking poſſeſſion of it: however, from this agreeable reverie, we were very ſoon awakened, in learning, that Buonaparté perfectly aware of this difficulty, had ſold that new province to the Americans.

In the month of November we were not leſs ſurpriſed, on hearing that the French had ſeized, and carried off, Sir George Rumbold, the Britiſh *charge-d'affaires* to the Hans Towns and the circle of Lower Saxony, while at Hamburgh, on the night of the 25th of the preceding month; that his papers were alſo ſeized; that he was hurried to Paris, and there confined in the Temple. From this temporary confinement, it ſeemed, Sir George was liberated, and ſent home to England in a very ſhort time after, by one of the moſt temporizing of all monarchs, viz. the King of Pruſſia. Still, in the interim, the Engliſh did not fail to exclaim againſt this violation of the perſon of an ambaſſador, on the part of the French, as one of the moſt odious outrages upon the law of nations. They forgot that the act of getting poſſeſſion of the papers of accredited agents, even by ſeizure and violence, was an old, though dangerous, practice of *civilized* governments: nor did it occur to the defenders of the Britiſh miniſtry, that if any inſult had been given to one of their ambaſſadors, they had only to thank

themſelves for it; as Lord Hawkeſbury's Note on the propriety of employing ambaſſadors in foreign nations as ſpies, and exciters of ſedition in the enemies country, but not that where they immediately reſided, had put them out of the benefit of the law of nations. This, indeed, was one of the firſt efforts of the *new morality*, which the war party have ſince improved upon. So far they ſeem to be a member of that power, which an Hebrew prophet and ſtateſman deſcribes as vainly thinking to "*change times and laws*," the immutable laws of right and wrong.

It was enough for the proſecutors of the war, if a few temporary ſucceſſes did but, now-and-then, enlighten the gloomy proſpect that preſented itſelf to the feeling and judicious; a proſpect, which at times, ſtartled and alarmed the moſt obdurate. The Dutch had not only loſt Surinam, and other poſſeſſions; but even the French ſquadron that had failed from Breſt under Admiral Linois, at the firſt breaking out of the rupture, had been repulſed by a homeward bound fleet of Eaſt Indiamen. Commodore Dance's account of this affair, addreſſed to the Court of Directors, dated Earl Camden, Auguſt 16, 1804, runs as follows: and, what is moſt ſingular, our readers will, afterwards, find, was alſo generally admitted, as to its veracity, by the French Government.

"For the information of the Honourable Court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the Earl Camden was diſpatched from Canton by the Select Committee, the 31ſt of January laſt; and the ſhips noted in the margin,* were put under my orders, as ſenior commander; alſo, the Rolla, a Botany

* Warley, Alfred, Royal George, Courts, Wexford, Ganges, Exeter, Earl of Abergavenny, Henry Addington, Bombay Caſtle, Cumberland, Hope, Dorſetſhire, Warren Haſtings, Ocean.

Bay ſhip, and the country ſhips: about twenty-four ſail of Indiamen and country ſhips, were put under my charge, to convoy as far as our courſes lay in the ſame direction. I was alſo ordered to take under my protection a Portugueſe Europe ſhip, that was lying in Macao Roads, whoſe ſupercargo had ſolicited it from the Select Committee.

"Our paſſage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much diſperſed; the ſhips being under the directions of their ſeveral Chineſe pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wiſhed.

"The Ganges, a faſt ſailing brig, was put under my orders by the Select Committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the ſafety or convenience of the fleet, till we had paſſed the Straits of Malacca.—I was then to diſpatch her to Bengal.

"We paſſed Macao Roads on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the Rolla had anchored ſo near Macao as not to ſee the fleet get under weigh and paſs through; although at the time I had no idea that could be poſſible; eſpecially, as I ſaw the Ocean in ſhore of us, getting under weigh, burning blue lights, and firing a gun; the Portugueſe ſhip, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been in the ſame ſituation as the Rolla. During the night of the 5th of February I carried an eaſy ſail, and, on the following day, hove to for above two hours, hoping to ſee thoſe ſhips; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet. On the 14th February at daybreak, we ſaw Pulo Auro, bearing W. S. W. and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the ſignal for ſeeing four ſtrange ſail in the S. W. I made the ſignal for the four ſhips noted in the margin,* to go down and examine them; and Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, late commander of the Porpoiſe, and paſſenger with me, having handſomely offered to go, in the Ganges brig, and inſpect them nearly, I, afterwards, ſent her down likewiſe, and, from their ſig-

* Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Caſtle, and Hope.

nals, I perceived it was an enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of a line of battle ſhips three frigates, and a brig.

" At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ſhips, by ſignal, and formed the line of battle in cloſe order.

" As ſoon as the enemy could fetch in our wake they put about; we kept on our courſe under an eaſy ſail. At near ſun-ſet, they were cloſe up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to ſupport them; but, at the cloſe of day, we perceived them haul to windward. I ſent Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to ſtation the country ſhips on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them and the enemy; and, having done ſo, he returned with ſome volunteers from the country ſhips.

" We laid to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters; at day-break of the 15th, we ſaw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying to; we hoiſted our colours, offering him battle, if he choſe to come down. The enemy's four ſhips hoiſted French colours, the line of battle ſhip carrying a rear admiral's flag; the brig was under Batavian colours.

" At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of ſailing, and ſteered our courſe under an eaſy ſail; the enemy then filled their ſails and edged towards us.

" At one P. M. finding they propoſed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the ſignal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in ſucceſſion, the Royal George being the leading ſhip, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we ſtood towards him under a preſs of ſail. The enemy then formed in a very cloſe line, and opened their fire on the headmoſt ſhips, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him; the Ganges, and Earl Camden opened their fire as ſoon as the guns could have effect;

but, before any other ſhip could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and ſtood away to the Eaſtward, under all the ſail they could ſet. At two P. M. I made the ſignal for a general chaſe, and we purſued them till four P. M.; when, fearing a longer purſuit would carry us too far from the mouth of the Straits, and conſidering the immenſe property at ſtake, I made the ſignal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a ſituation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could diſtinguiſh the enemy, we perceived him ſteering to the Eaſtward under a preſs of ſail. The Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many ſhot in her hull, and more in her ſails; but few ſhot touched either the Camden or Ganges; and the fire of the enemy ſeemed to be ill-directed, his ſhot either falling ſhort, or paſſing over us. Captain Timins carried the Royal George into action in the moſt gallant manner. In juſtice to my brother commanders, I muſt ſtate, that every ſhip was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almoſt all of them during the two days we were in preſence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined reſolution to defend the valuable property entruſted to their charge to the laſt extremity, with a full conviction of the ſucceſsful event of their exertions; and this ſpirit was fully ſeconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers, and ſhips companies. From Malacca, I diſpatched Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the Select Committee to the captain of any of his Majeſty's ſhips, ſoliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet. On our arrival at Malacca, we were informed that the ſquadron we had engaged was that of Admiral Linois; conſiſting of the Marengo, of 84 guns, the Belle Poule, and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig, William, of 18 guns. The 28th February, in the Straits of Malacca, lat. 40 deg. 30 min. N. we fell in with his Majeſty's ſhips Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor ſtate of health; and

Mr. Lance went on board the Albion; and, by his very able repreſentation to Captain Ferrier, of the great national conſequence of the Honourable Company's ſhips, he was induced to take charge of the fleet. On the third of March I diſpatched the Ganges brig with a Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor-general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the Honourable Court. We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhips Albion and Sceptre, and ſailed the 18th under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhip Plantagenet, with the addition of the Carmarthen, Captain Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this, I ſend a chart of the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the ſituations of the fleet on the 14th and 15th February; which will, I truſt, convey a more diſtinct idea of the action than any written deſcription.

"I am, &c. N. DANCE."

This was an achievement not to be paſſed over by the Patriotic Fund; whoſe Committee, afterwards, reſolved, That a ſword and a vaſe, each of one hundred pounds value, ſhould be given to Captain Dance, who acted as commodore to the fleet from China. A ſword and a vaſe, of the ſame value, were alſo voted to Captain Timmins, of the Royal George; and a ſword, of the value of fifty pounds, was ordered to be preſented to each of the other captains of the India fleet that beat off Admiral Linois ſquadron. A ſword, of fifty pounds value, was alſo voted to Lieutenant Fowler, of the royal navy, for his ſervices on that occaſion; and a letter was written to Captain Timmins to obtain the name, and an account of the family, of the ſeaman who was killed, and the ſailor who was wounded, on board his ſhip during the action: and, on the following day, the Directors of the Eaſt India Company, with a moſt liberal gratitude

for the noble ſervice performed by the Chineſe fleet, voted to the commanders, officers, and ſeamen, the following ſums, for "their gallant conduct in beating off the French ſquadron, under Admiral Linois, in the Chineſe ſeas:"

Captain Dance, two thouſand guineas, and a piece of plate, value two hundred guineas; Captain Timmins, one thouſand guineas, and a piece of plate, value one hundred pounds; Captain Moffatt, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas; to Captains H. Wilſon, Farquharſon, Torin, Clarke, Meriton, Wordſworth, Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Farrer, Prendergaſt, Browne, Larkins, and Lockner, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate, value fifty guineas, to each; to chief officers, one hundred and fifty guineas each; to ſecond and third ditto, one hundred and twenty-five guineas; and to fifth and ſixth ditto, fifty guineas each. Purſers and ſurgeons, eighty guineas each; mates, boatſwains, gunners, and carpenters, fifty guineas each; midſhipmen, thirty guineas; other petty officers, fifteen guineas each; ſeamen, ordinary ſeamen, and ſervants, ſix guineas each. To Lieutenant Fowler, paſſenger in the Camden, for the ſervices rendered Captain Dance during the action, three hundred guineas, for a piece of plate. The whole remuneration will amount to nearly fifty thouſand pounds! The value of the fleet thus gallantly preſerved, as eſtimated by the ſupercargoes, including the private as well as the public inveſtments, appears to be above eight millions ſterling!

But if the French had nothing elſe to conſole them under theſe misfortunes, during the gloomy month of November, the good people of Paris were highly

Gen.l Duroc.

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gratified on the 25th, by the arrival of the Holy Father at Fontainbleau, for the purpoſe of officiating at the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon, which had been fixed for November. The Emperor, who was enjoying the chaſe at the moment of his arrival, met him at La Croix de St. Herem. The Emperor and the Pope alighted, and, according to the French faſhion, embraced each other: ſix of his Majeſty's carriages then came up, into one of which Napoleon firſt entered, and placed his Holineſs upon the right. They arrived at the caſtle, through two lines of troops and the thunder of artillery. Cardinal Capura, and the great officers of the houſhold, received them at the bottom of the gilt ſtaircaſe, up which they both proceeded as far as the place which ſeparated their apartments: his Holineſs, having there quitted the Emperor, was conducted by the Grand Chamberlain, the Grand Marſhal of the palace, (Duroc) and the Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies, to the apartn. .. prepared for him: having reſted ſome time, he paid a formal viſit to the Emperor, and, afterwards, to the Empreſs: her Majeſty reconducted him as far as the ſecond room of her apartments: the Pope then returning to his own apartments, the Miniſter and great officers of the Empire were preſented to him. A four o'clock the Emperor ſent notice to the Pope that he intended to pay him a viſit, and repaired to the cloſet of his holineſs; and the ſame ceremony was obſerved on the Pope's returning this viſit: at each viſit they remained alone together about half an hour.

We ſhall paſs over the Allocution, or Admonition, which the Pope addreſſed to the clergy before he left Rome, in order to aſſiſt at the coronation of the

French Emperor; nor need we notice the ceremonies that diſtinguiſhed the coronation, on the 2d of December, the day appointed; when the Senate, purſuant to its former reſolution, preſented itſelf in a body, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the palace of the Thuilleries. Having been introduced into the chamber of ſtate, they were preſented to the Emperor by Prince Joſeph, the Grand Elector; when his Excellency, M. Francis de Neufchateau, addreſſed his Majeſty: not in a ſtrain of the moſt fulſome flattery, as our ſagacious newſpapers have been pleaſed to term every thing of the kind directed to the French Emperor, nor yet altogether devoid of that agreeable kind of embelliſhment; but which, however, to the mortification and confuſion of the enemies of peace, has ever been founded upon too much truth and ſober ſadneſs; and one of the greateſt, one of the moſt invincible of theſe truths, was noticed by the ſpeaker on this occaſion, as that which the Emperor had, moſt auſpiciouſly, choſen as the inſcription on the French coins; viz. *God protects France.*—"Oh yes! God protects France—ſince he created you for her."

"FATHER OF THY COUNTRY!

"In the name of that protecting God, beſtow a bleſſing on thy children; and, relying on their fidelity, be aſſured, that nothing can either efface from their minds, or root out of their hearts, the engagements reſulting from the mutual contract that has juſt been entered into between the French Nation and the Imperial Family. In the abſence of the throne all the great characters give themſelves up to faction: a people is ſo much the more to be pitied the greater the number of its diſtinguiſhed children; all that might conſtitute the pride of nations becomes then the ſcourge of one. From the moment that the throne is worthily filled

eminent virtues have a reward; viz. to approach nearer to it; and the diſtinction is ſo much the more flattering as more real dignities bear more impoſing names.

"The title of Emperor has ever conveyed the law; not of that royalty before which ſubjects humble and proſtrate themſelves, but the great and liberal idea of a Firſt Magiſtrate, governing in the name of the law, which citizens feel honour in obeying.

"The title of Senate indicates alſo an aſſembly of choſen magiſtrates, proved by long labour and venerable for age.—The greater the Emperor is the more auguſt ought the Senate to be."

His Majeſty replied in the following terms:

"I aſcend the throne, to which the unanimous wiſhes of the Senate, the People, and the Army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great deſtinies of that people, whom, from the midſt of camps, I firſt ſaluted with the name of "Great." From my youth my thoughts have been ſolely fixed upon them; and I muſt add here, that my pleaſures and my pains are derived entirely from the happineſs or miſery of my people. My Deſcendants ſhall long preſerve this throne; in the camps they will be the firſt ſoldiers of the army, ſacrificing their lives in the defence of their country.—As magiſtrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws and the confuſion of ſocial order are only the reſult of the imbecility and unſteadineſs of princes. You, Senators! whoſe counſels and ſupport have never failed me in the moſt difficult circumſtances; your ſpirit will be handed down to your ſucceſſors: be ever the props and firſt counſellors of that Throne, ſo neceſſary to the welfare of this vaſt Empire."

It is unneceſſary to add, that the coronation of Napoleon was diſtinguiſhed by all the uſual teſtimonies of the public joy —On our ſide of the water it proved only a freſh ſource of additional chagrin to

thoſe who were intereſted in the war, or who gave credit to the repreſentations of the miniſters and their hireling advocates. Having nothing better to urge, they objected, that it was cruel in the extreme to force the poor old Pope to come, all the way from Rome to Paris, to crown Buonaparté; that he might catch his death by it! &c. &c. And yet this is the nation that, in its Capital, at leaſt, burns the Pope, in effigy, every year, for crimes committed two centuries ago! But the real cauſe of their mortification was to find, that the Pope being rendered ſubſervient to the French Emperor as a temporal prince, there was no longer any hope, on the part of the Allies, of making uſe of his authority in furtherance of their deſigns: for if the Pope, or any perſons properly authoriſed by him, could or would only have given abſolution to any perſons, that the Allies, or any one of them, might have hired to aſſaſſinate the French Emperor, even this would have been a material point preſerved; but now, with ſeveral other hopes and reſources, this had failed them alſo.

Thus paſſed the whole of 1804: on our ſide, the phyſical advantages we had gained over the ſhips and colonies of our enemies were but few, compared with the moral advantages obtained by France. —As theſe are very well explained in the French annual *Expoſé*, delivered at the opening of the ſeſſion of the Legiſlative Body at Paris, on the 26th of December, 1804, we preſume we cannot cloſe our Hiſtory of Buonaparté, to that period, in a more advantageous manner, than by preſenting to our readers that able Retroſpect of public affairs, contained in a State Paper, not leſs valuable for what it related of the paſt than what it promiſed in reſpect to the future; as

theſe will be found to be facts, that can neither be weakened by ſophiſtry or darkened by prejudice. M. Champagny, who was the orator on this occaſion, began as follows:

"GENTLEMEN!

"In conſequence of the nomination, of which information has juſt been given to you, I am about to have the honour of ſtating to you the ſituation of the French Empire. The interior ſituation of France is, at this day, what it was in the calmeſt times: no movement which can alarm the public tranquillity; no crime which belongs to the remembrance of the Revolution: everywhere uſeful undertakings, everywhere the improvement of public and private property atteſt the progreſs of confidence and of ſecurity: the leaven of opinion no longer ſharpens the ſpirits; the ſentiments of the general intereſt, the principles of ſocial order, better known and more refined, have attached all hearts to the common proſperity: this is what all the adminiſtrations proclaim; this is what the Emperor has witneſſed in all the departments he has travelled through; this is what has been juſt demonſtrated in the moſt ſtriking manner: all the armies have ſeen themſelves, at once, ſeparated from their generals, all the military corps from their chiefs; the ſuperior tribunals deprived of their firſt magiſtrates; the public miniſtry of its firſt organs; the churches of their principal paſtors; the towns, the countries, ſimultaneouſly quitted by every one who had power and influence over men's minds: the people everywhere abandoned to their genius; and the people have everywhere ſhown themſelves deſirous of order and of the laws. At the ſame moment the Sovereign Pontiff travelled thro' France; from the banks of the Po to the borders of the Seine he has everywhere been the object of a religious homage, rendered him by that immenſe majority, who, faithful to the ancient doctrine, ſee a common father, and the centre of the common belief, in him, whom all Europe re-

veres as a ſovereign raiſed to the throne by his piety and his virtues. A plot, laid by an implacable government, was going to repluńge France into the abyſs of civil wars and of anarchy: at the diſcovery of that horrible plot all France was moved; inquietudes, ill laid aſleep, were again awakened, and in every mind was at once found, anew, principles, which have been thoſe of all wiſe men, and which were conſtantly ours, before error and weakneſs had alienated men's minds, and guilty intrigues had miſled their opinions. The nation had experienced, that power divided was without accord and without ſtrength; it had been made ſenſible, that, intruſted for a time, it was only precarious, and permitted neither long labours nor long thoughts; that, intruſted for the life of a ſingle man, it grew weak with him, and left after him only chances of diſcord and of anarchy; it was convinced, in fine, that there was ſafety, for great nations, only in hereditary power; that it alone ſecured their political life, and embraced in its duration generations and ages. The Senate was, as it ſhould be, the organ of their common inquietude: ſoon burſt forth that wiſh to ſee the power hereditary which dwelt in all hearts truly French: it was proclaimed by the Electoral Colleges, by the Armies, the Council of State, Magiſtrates; the moſt enlightened men were conſulted, and their anſwer was unanimous. The neceſſity of hereditary power, in a ſtate ſo vaſt as France, had been, long ſince, perceived by the Firſt Conſul: in vain had he reſiſted the force of principles; in vain had he tried to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of election, which might perpetuate public authority, and tranſmit it without danger and without troubles: public inquietudes, the hopes of our enemies, accuſed his work; his death was to be the ruin of his labours. It was till this term that foreign jealouſy and the ſpirit of diſcord and anarchy waited for us: reaſon, ſentiment, experience, dictated equally to all Frenchmen, that there was no certain tranſmiſſion of power but that which was effected without interval; that there was no tranquil ſucceſſion but that which was regulated by the

laws of nature. When such motives supported such pressing wishes the determination of the First Consul could not be doubtful: he resolved, then, to accept for himself, and for two of his Brothers, after him, the load which was imposed on him by the necessity of circumstances. From his meditations, ripened by conferences with the members of the Senate, by discussions in the Councils, by the observations of the wisest men, was formed a series of dispositions, which fixes the inheritance of the Imperial Throne; which assigns to the Princes their rights and their duties; which promises to the Heir of the Empire an education regulated by the laws, and such that he will be worthy of his high destinies: which designates those who, in case of minority, will be called to the Regency, and marks the limits of their power; which places between the throne and the citizens dignities and offices, accessible to all, encouragements and recompenses of the public virtues: which give to men honoured with great distinctions, or invested with great authority, judges, sufficiently great to bend neither before their authority nor before their distinctions: which gives to crimes against the public safety and the interest of the Empire, judges essentially attached to the safety of the Empire and to its interests; which places more lustre and more weight in the functions of the legislator, more developement and more extent in the public discussion of the laws: which recals the tribunals and their judgments to those ancient denominations which had obtained the respect of ages; which guarantees, in fine, the rights of the Prince and of the People by oaths, the eternal guardians of all interest. These dispositions were decreed by the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th of *Floreal* last: the French People have manifested their free and independent will; they have expressed their wish that the Imperial Dignity should be hereditary, in the direct, legitimate, and adoptive descendants of Napoleon Buonaparté; in the direct and legitimate descendants of Joseph Buonaparté; in the direct and le-

gitimate defcendants of Louis Buonaparté. At that moment Napoleon was, by the moft juft of titles, Emperor of the French; no other act was neceffary to afcertain his rights and confecrate his authority: but he wifhed to reftore to France her ancient forms, to recal among us thofe inftitutions which the Divinity feems to have infpired, and to impreſs upon the beginning of his reign the ſeal of religion itſelf. To give to the French a ſtriking proof of his paternal tenderneſs, the Chief of the Church has been willing to lend his miniſtry to this auguſt ceremony.—What a deep and laſting impreſſion it has left in the mind of the Emperor and in the remembrance of the nation! what converſations for future races! and what a ſubject of admiration for Europe! Napoleon proſtrate at the foot of the altars which he has juſt raiſed! the Sovereign Pontiff imploring upon France, and upon him, the celeſtial benedictions, and, in his wiſhes for the felicity of one nation, embracing the felicity of all nations! Paſtors and Prieſts, lately divided, uniting with his ſupplications their gratitude and their voice! The Senators, the Legiſlators, the Tribunes, Magiſtrates, Warriors, the Adminiſtrators of the people, and thoſe who preſide over their aſſemblies, confounding together their opinions, their hopes, and their wiſhes! Sovereigns, Princes, Ambaſſadors, ſtruck with the grand ſpectacle of France, again ſeated upon her ancient foundations, and by her repoſe ſecuring the repoſe of their country! In the midſt of this pomp, and under the look of the Eternal, Napoleon pronouncing the immutable Oath, which ſecures the integrity of the Empire, the ſtability of property, the perpetuity of inſtitutions, the reſpect for the laws, and the happineſs of the nation! The Oath of Napoleon will be for ever the terror of the enemies and the buckler of the French: if our frontiers are attacked, it will be repeated at the head of our armies, and our frontiers will no longer dread a foreign invaſion; it will be preſent to the memory of the delegates of authority, it will remind them of the end of their labours and the rule of their du-

ties, and, though it may not guarantee their administration from some errors, it will ensure the prompt reparation of them. A project of a Criminal Code, finished for these two years past, has been submitted to the censure of the Tribunals, and is now undergoing a final discussion in the Council of State. The Code of Procedure and the Code of Commerce are still in the same state the labours of last year left them in: more urgent cares have called on the Emperor; and it is one of his maxims, to propose to the deliberations of the Legislators those projects of laws alone which have been ripened by long and wise discussions. The Schools of Legislation are about to open; inspectors are nominated, who will enlighten public teaching, and prevent its degenerating into vain and sterile proofs; the Lyceums, the Secondary Schools, are filling with youth eager for instruction: Fontainbleau has already sent forth military men, who are remarked in our armies for their soldierly appearance, their knowledge, and their respect for discipline. The Polytechnic School peoples with useful hands our arsenals, our ports, and our workshops. At Compeigne the School of Arts and Trades obtains, every day, new successes: that which is to be formed upon the borders of La Vendée is expected there with impatience, and will, shortly, be in complete activity. Prizes have been decreed to Sciences, to Letters, and to Arts, and, in a period of ten years, assigned to labours that his Majesty wishes to recompense, he has a right to expect that French genius will bring forth new masterpieces. In the department of Bridges and Highways the works begun have been carried on with constancy, others are in contemplation, and every year prepares for the following years new schemes for the prosperity of the state: but the intemperance of the seasons had deceived the foresight and the zeal of administration; rains and torrents have injured the Roads more rapidly than we have been able to repair them; some labours have been destroyed, others have been, for a moment suspended; great calamities have afflicted some

departments, particularly that of the Rhine and Moſelle: a judicious Preſect, interpreter of the intentions of the Emperor, has preſerved the firſt ſuccour to thoſe unhappy men who have been the victims of it: his Majeſty has reanimated their courage by his preſence, and has conſoled them by his benefits. The ſcourge of Contagion has afflicted ſome neighbouring countries, the vigilance of adminiſtration has preſerved our territory from it; it is rapidly diminiſhing in thoſe places where it exerciſed its ravages. In maintaining the meaſures which are ſtill dictated by prudence and regard for the public health, the introduction of the evil will be prevented without interupting the communication neceſſary for the aliment of our commerce and of our manufactures. In the centre of La Vendee a new City is building, intended to be the ſeat of the adminiſtration: from thence it will exerciſe over every point an active and ſure ſuperintendance; from thence knowledge and ſound principles will be propagated throughout that department, in which ignorance and the want of inſtruction have ſo frequently delivered over ſimple and honeſt minds to the intrigues of malevolence. Decrees of the Emperor have recalled commerce to the left bank of the Rhine, and beſtowed on Mentz and Cologne all the advantages of real emporiums, without the danger of introducing contraband goods into the interior of France. Manufactures are improving: and whilſt, in vain declamations, mercenaries, paid by the Britiſh Government, boaſt its diſtant and precarious reſources, diſperſed over the ſeas and the Indies; whilſt they deſcribe our workſhops as deſerted, and our workmen dying with miſery, our induſtry extends its roots over our own ſoil, repels Engliſh induſtry far from our frontiers, and has ſucceeeded in equalling it, in what formed its glory and its ſucceſs, the perfection of its Machines, and is preparing to diſpute with it conſumers in every place where it can meet with and reach it. Our firſt manufacture, Agriculture, has enlarged and become clear; a ſyſtem of Exportation, in ſuch a manner combined, that

it ſhuts and opens according to our wants, aſſures to the huſbandman the price of his labour and abundance to our markets. New encouragements prepare the improvement of the race of our Horſes; our Wools are meliorated; our fields are covered with Cattle; and throughout every part of the Empire its true riches multiply. Aided by riches, renewed ſecurity has given a freer ſcope to active beneficence: excited by religion, and by the recollection of our misfortunes, the latter is not limited to the charities of the moment; it embraces the future, and truſts its treaſure to government, which guarantees to it an employment conformable to its wiſhes. Never have ſo many legacies and pious donations been made in favour of the Hoſpitals and of the Eſtabliſhments of Beneficence: ſome of theſe inſtitutions have been created or eſtabliſhed by private perſons; never has ſuffering humanity found more friends, nor indigence more ſuccour. They are diſtributed with as much wiſdom as zeal; and the Hoſpitals of Paris, directed with an intelligence which multiplies the cares in economiſing the funds, relieve all wants, cure many evils, and are no more thoſe murderous aſylums which devour their numerous and miſerable population: the number of the indigent of the Capital is, accordingly, thirty-two thouſand below that which it was in 1791, and twenty-five thouſand leſs than that which it was in the year 10.—Religion has reſumed its empire; it no longer exerciſes itſelf but for the good of humanity; a wiſe tolerance accompanies it, and the miniſters of different forms of worſhip, who adore the ſame God, do honour to themſelves by teſtimonies of reciprocal reſpect, and know no other rivality than that of virtues; ſuch is our poſition within: without, French courage, ſeconded by Spaniſh good faith, has preſerved to us St. Domingo: Martinique braves the menaces of our enemies, and, under a paternal government, renders ſtronger and more durable the ties which attach it to the Mother Country. Guadaloupe has enriched itſelf with the ſpoils of Britiſh commerce; and Guyana continues

to profper under an active and vigorous adminiſtration. The Iſles of France and of Re-union would be, at the preſent day, the emporium of the riches of Aſia; London would be in convulſions and deſpair, had not inexperience or weakneſs baffled a ſcheme moſt ably concerted. The Iſles of France and of Re-union, however, are ſtill enriched with the prizes which we have taken from our enemies. Our Armies are always deſerving of their reputation: with the ſame valour and the ſame diſcipline, they have acquired that patience, which waits for opportunities without murmuring, and confides in the prudence and deſigns of the Chief who conducts them. Our Soldiers, our officers, learn to govern the element which ſeparates them from that Iſland, the grand object of their reſentment: their audacity and their addreſs aſtoniſh the oldeſt and moſt experienced mariners. Our Fleets, by continual manœuvres, lead the way to combats; and whilſt thoſe of our enemies wear out, in ſtriving againſt winds and tempeſts, ours learn, without deſtroying themſelves, to fight againſt them. In fine, ſince by the war we have gained Hanover, we are more in a ſtate than ever to ſtrike deciſive blows againſt our enemies. Our navy is in a better ſtate than it has been for theſe ten years paſt; upon land our army is more numerous, better diſciplined, and better provided with every thing calculated to enſure victory than it ever was. In the department of Finances, the ſame activity prevails in the receipts, the ſame regularity in the management, the ſame order in the adminiſtration of the treaſure; and almoſt always the ſame ſtability in the value of the public debt. The war, in the firſt inſtance, neceſſitated extraordinary expenſes, but the funds for them were expended in our our own ſoil, and have given us veſſels, ports, and every thing which is neceſſary for the developement of our forces againſt our enemies: theſe extraordinary expenſes have now ceaſed, and thoſe excited by our warlike attitude will, henceforth, be directed by an economy which the urgency of our preparations for attack

and defence did not admit of. The revenues of the crown will support all the expenses of the Coronation, and those still demanded by the splendor of the throne: the lustre which surrounds it will never be a burden to the nation. The situation of Europe has experienced but one important change. Spain reposed under a neutrality to which France had consented, and which the British Cabinet had acknowledged; her vessels were suddenly attacked, and the Treaty of Amiens was violated with regard to her, as it had previously been with regard to France. His Catholic Majesty has taken the part commanded him by the dignity of his throne, by good faith outraged, and by the honour of a generous people whose destinies he directs. The Emperor of Austria devotes to the restoration of his finances the prosperity of his provinces, the progress of their commerce, that repose prompted by the frankness of his character and the interests of his subjects. The Italian Republic, administered and governed by the same principles as France, requires, like that power, a definitive organization, which shall ensure to the present generation, and to future generations, all the advantages of the Social Pact. United to this Republic by the duties imposed on him, both as President and as Founder of that state, the Emperor will reply to the confidence it testifies towards him, and ensure its destinies and its independence, by serving the interests of the French People, to whom, also, it owes its existence, and by conciliating the interests of these two friendly nations with the well understood interests of the neighbouring powers. By the changes called for by the will of a nation, and by the interest of all, absurd calumnies will fall to the ground; and France, who has herself erected barriers where she had fixed her limits, will no longer be accused of a wish to overleap them. Helvetia enjoys in peace the benefits of her constitution, of the wisdom of her citizens, and of our alliance. Batavia still groans under an olygarchical government, without union in its views, without patriotism, and without vigour. Its

colonies have been, a second time, sold and delivered up to England, without firing a gun; but this nation possesses energy, morals, and economy; it wants only a firm, patriotic, and enlightened government. The King of Prussia has shown himself, upon every occasion, the friend of France; and the Emperor has profited of every one which has presented itself, to consolidate this happy harmony. The Electors, and all the Members of the Germanic body, faithfully maintain the relations of benevolence and friendship which unite it to France. Denmark follows the counsels of a wise, moderate, and judicious policy. The spirit of Catherine the Great will watch over the councils of Alexander I.: he will recollect that the friendship of France is a necessary counterpoise for him in the balance of Europe; that, placed at a distance from her, he can neither preserve nor disturb her repose, and that his great interest is, to find in his relations with her a necessary vent for the productions of his empire. Turkey is wavering in her politics; she follows, through fear, a system which her interest disavows. May she never learn, at the expense of her own existence, that fear and irresolution accelerate the fall of empires, a thousand times more fatal than the dangers and losses of an unfortunate war! Whatever may be the movements of England, the destinies of France are fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches, and in the courage of her defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and will not act so as either to deserve enemies nor fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the Continent; when she shall know that she has only to lose in a war, without end or motives; when she shall be convinced that France will never accept any other conditions than those of Amiens, and will never consent to leave to her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta, England will then have arrived at pacific sentiments. Hatred and envy have but their day."

CHAPTER XI.

The French Emperor's Letter to the King of Great Britain.—Answered by Lord Mulgrave.—Moderation of the French Government.—Deliberations of the Legislative Body.—Speeches of M. M. Segur and Talleyrand.—The French Emperor assumes the Iron Crown of Italy.—Visits Boulogne.—Grand Display of the Troops and Vessels there and at Vimereux.

THE commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by a very singular trait in the character of the French Emperor.—To some of our English writers this action appeared so extraordinary, that they doubted whether it ought to be characterized by the peculiar epithet of *presumption*, *insolence*, or *folly*: in fact, he had the temerity to address his Britannic Majesty, personally, in a letter written in his own hand; in which he deprecated the further continuance of a war, in the prosecution of which so much useless blood was shed, without any view or object whatever: he said "he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation in a moment which afforded the most favourable opportunity to silence the passions and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He adjured his Majesty not to deny himself the pleasure of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. He reminded the British Monarch, that the latter had gained more in the last ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe; that his country was at the highest pitch of prosperity, and could only

hope to form another coalition of ſome powers upon the continent againſt France; but that the effect of ſuch a meaſure would be to increaſe the preponderance and continental greatneſs of France only. Did England hope to renew the internal troubles of France, or deſtroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies? a war would produce no ſuch effects. The French were happy; a flouriſhing ſtate of agriculture was the ſupport of their finances, and the colonies were but a ſecondary object: beſides, had not the King of England, at that moment, more than he knew how to preſerve?" (After ſome more reaſoning, of a ſimilar caſt, this Document concludes with the following words:) "If your Majeſty would but reflect, you muſt perceive that the war is without an object and without any preſumable reſult to yourſelf! Alas! what a melancholy proſpect! to cauſe two nations to fight only for the ſake of fighting! The world is ſufficiently capacious for our two nations to exiſt in it; and reaſon is ſufficiently powerful to diſcover means of reconciling every thing, when the wiſh for reconciliation exiſts on both ſides. I have, however, fulfilled a ſacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart." Peace," he alſo obſerved, "was his firſt wiſh, though war had never been inconſiſtent with his glory. He thought there never was a more fortunate opportunity than the preſent to make peace: this moment once loſt, he aſked, what end could be aſſigned to a war, which all his efforts would not be able to terminate."

To this pathetic Letter the following cold, ſyſtematic Anſwer was returned; not from the hand of the Monarch, but from Lord Mulgrave, Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs; dated 14th January, 1805, and addreſſed to M. Talleyrand:

"His Britannic Majeſty has received the Letter which has been addreſſed to him by the Head of the French Government, dated the 2d of the preſent month. There is no object which his Majeſty has more at heart, than to avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity to procure again for his ſubjects the advantages of a peace, founded on baſes which may not be incompatible with the permanent ſecurity and eſſential intereſts of his dominions: his Majeſty is perſuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may, at the ſame time, provide for the future ſafety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this ſentiment, his Majeſty feels it impoſſible for him to anſwer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the Powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations; and, particularly, the Emperor of Ruſſia, who has given the ſtrongeſt proofs of the wiſdom and elevation of the ſentiments with which he is animated, and the lively intereſt which he takes in the ſafety and independence of the Continent.

"MULGRAVE."

But, notwithſtanding ſuch an indefinite anſwer as the above, was returned to this Letter, it was generally allowed here, that in the French Emperor's Letter there was no longer that tone of arrogant ſuperiority which characterized the language of the French Government in the preceding year; no reference to the impoſſibility of England contending againſt France "ſingle-handed;" nor any apparent wiſh to conſider us in any other light than as a formidable rival.

Early in the month of February this Letter, with

the above Anſwer, were communicated to the French Legiſlative Body, by order of the Emperor.—M. Segur, in preſenting theſe documents, introduced them with a ſpeech, which plainly evinced the French Government was not pleaſed with the anſwer they had received. M. Segur, though no facts could be better founded, would not admit that Ruſſia, Auſtria, or Pruſſia, would embark in a war merely to gratify England: yet, if he was wrong in theſe premiſes, he was right in his concluſion; viz. "That the hopes of England, in a Third Coalition, were vain and chimerical; and that it only remained for French bravery to diſplay its whole energy, and to triumph, at laſt, over that eternal enemy to the liberty of the ſeas and the repoſe of nations."

But even after this Letter, and its Anſwer, had thus been made public, it is to be inferred, from the ſpeech of M. Talleyrand, that it was the wiſh of the French Government that this overture ſhould be conſidered as yet open, and that, after Ruſſia had been conſulted, further diſcuſſions of an amicable nature might take place. M. Talleyrand obſerved, "That on a queſtion regarding a multitude of intereſts and paſſions, which have never been in uniſon, they ought not to reſt upon a ſingle ſymptom.—Time (he ſaid) would ſoon develope to the French the ſecret reſolutions of the Engliſh Government: ſhould theſe be juſt and moderate, the calamities of war would ceaſe: ſhould, (ſaid he) on the contrary, this firſt appearance of accommodation prove but a falſe light, intended only to anſwer ſpeculations of credit, to facilitate a loan, the acquiſition of money, &c.; then we ſhall know how far the diſpoſitions of the enemy are implacable and obſtinate; we ſhall then have to baniſh

all hope from a dangerous lure, and truſt, without reſerve, to the goodneſs of our cauſe, the juſtice of Providence, and the genius of the Emperor. Time, which has been the beſt comment upon the actions of thoſe miniſters who uſed this language, could it furniſh itſelf with a tongue, would have had no occaſion for the pen of the hiſtorian. Time has, in reality, evinced that theſe hopes of peace were unſubſtantial, that the Britiſh miniſters, and the mercantile intereſt that governed them, talked of peace but wiſhed for war: it has alſo proved, that while all the hopes founded upon theſe mean and mercenary conſiderations have been ruinouſly deceptive, the hopes of the French have not only been realized, but even the moſt ſanguine of their wiſhes far exceeded; and that they have not truſted in vain to the goodneſs of their cauſe, the juſtice of Providence, or the genius of their Emperor.

With reſpect to Italy, it was obſerved, that though Buonaparté, "certainly one of the moſt fortunate, if not the greateſt character on which the page of hiſtory ever dwelt, had taken upon himſelf the ſtyle and title of the Emperor of the Gauls, reſpect for a form of government he had ſo recently eſtabliſhed in the Northern and middle provinces of Italy, induced him to forego, at the moment of his advancement to the Imperial diadem, the perſonal ſovereignty of that country. However, he felt himſelf emboldened, in the courſe of the preſent year, to extend his views of family aggrandizement, and the Iron Crown of Charlemagne was deſtined to circle the brows of Buonaparté; who, when he was hailed King of Italy, had his views upon the Northern provinces and the fer-

tile Iſland of Sicily. It would be deemed trifling to dwell upon the ſolicitations that were ſent in from various parts of Italy, beſeeching Napoleon to take upon himſelf, and his heirs, the Italian diadem. It is ſufficient to ſay, that on the 25th of May, the Emperor of France, having repaired to the city of Milan, one of the firſt witneſſes of his aſtoniſhing military talents, he was there crowned with the utmoſt ſplendour, ſolemnity, pomp, and impoſing magnificence.

The Emperor ſeated on a ſuperb throne, having on his right the honours of the Empire; on the left the honours of Italy; and before him the honours of Charlemagne, was inveſted with the uſual inſignia of royalty, by the Cardinal Archbiſhop, and finally aſcending the altar, he took to himſelf the Iron Crown, and placed it upon his head, exclaiming aloud, it being a part of the ancient ceremony on enthroning the Lombard Kings. *Dieu me la donne; gare a qui la touche*, viz. "God gives it to me; beware thoſe who touch it."

After the ceremony, the new Conſtitutional Code was communicated to the ſtates; the moſt remarkable of its proviſions were, that of placing the regal authority ſolely in the perſon of Napoleon, with the privilege of naming his ſucceſſor; after which, the crown, with certain limitations, was to be hereditary. It was decreed, that hereafter the monarch muſt conſtantly reſide within the Italian ſtates, but, that while the preſent King retained the crown of Italy, he might be there repreſented by a Viceroy, who muſt poſitively reſide within the boundaries of the kingdom. After the death of Napoleon, it was alſo ſtipulated, that the kingdom muſt never again

Eugene Napoleon.

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be veſted in the ſame perſon with that of the French empire. But immediately after the promulgation of this body of laws, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, the ſon of Madam Buonaparté, by her former huſband, General Beauharnois, was appointed Viceroy, and a new order of knighthood, that of the *Iron Crown*, was inſtituted, with conſiderable revenues attached to this dignity: and the organization of the new kingdom was very ſoon arranged and completed.

It can ſcarcely be doubted, that the French Emperor's deſign in cauſing himſelf to be crowned King of Italy, was to ſtrengthen his frontiers; and, particularly to guard againſt his implacable enemy the King, or rather the Queen of Naples. The obſervation that he had made to the King of Great Britain in the beginning of the year, when he addreſſed a Letter to him, reſpecting his vaſt acquiſition of territory, for the laſt ten years, upon the continent of India, may alſo be looked upon as a kind of apology on the part of the French Emperor, for the liberties he had taken in that of Europe: but, as deference to antient uſages could no longer be expected, the French Emperor was now determined formally to unite the territory of the once proud city of Genoa to his own. The ceremonial attending this act, took place alſo at Milan, on the 4th of June, when the Doge of Genoa, in a full convocation of the great officers of ſtate, addreſſed, and ſolicited the French Emperor to grant the Genoeſe nation the happineſs of being his ſubjects. His Majeſty returned a very long, and a very gracious anſwer, in the courſe of which he ſaid,

"I will realize your wiſh: I will unite you to my great people. It will be to me a new means for rendering more

efficacious the protection I have always loved to grant you. My people will receive you with pleasure: they know that, in all circumstances, you have assisted their arms with friendship, and have supported them with all your means. They find, besides, with your ports, an increase of maritime power, which is necessary to them to sustain their lawful rights against the oppressors of the seas. You will find, in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports and a marine. You will find a flag, which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, on all the seas of the universe, constantly free from insult, and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognise but for places really blockaded, as well by sea as by land. You will find yourselves sheltered under it from this shameful slavery, the existence of which I reluctantly suffer with respect to weaker nations, but from which I will always guarantee my subjects."

Having settled these important concerns, the French Emperor left Italy on his return to Paris, where he arrived on the 12th of August. But, as it has been supposed that he was seriously deceived in his expectations of a continental peace, and, therefore, thought himself at liberty to repair to Boulogne, to organize his army and his flotilla for the invasion of England, he certainly lost no time in repairing thither. The style in which he was received; the magnitude of the force assembled there, with the spectators, rendered the whole extremely interesting: and, as this was a part which will, most probably, be re-acted in the same place, and mostly by the same persons; some particulars at present may not be unamusing. The following account of this Festival at Boulogne, is copied from the *Moniteur*.

"Seated on the throne of one of the Kings of the

firſt race, the Emperor had, immediately on his right, Prince Joſeph, behind him the great officers of the Crown; on each ſide the miniſters, the Marſhals of the Empire, and the Colonels general; in front, and on the ſteps, were his Majeſty's *aides-de-camps*; and on benches at the foot of the throne were, on the right, the Counſellors of State, the Generals arrived from the interior, and foreign Officers; on the left, the Civil and Religious Functionaries. The remainder of the ſpace in the middle was occupied by the Imperial Guard, and the muſicians on one ſide, and 2,000 drummers on the other; at its extremities were the grand ſtaff of the army, and the general ſtaff officers of the camps. The Emperor ſaw on his right, the two camps and the batteries, the entrance of the port, and a part of the roads; and on his left, he had a view of the port of Vimereux, and the coaſts of England. In front of him, advanced ſixty battalions, formed in twenty columns, the heads of them occupying half the circumference of the circle. In front, and in the interior part, ſtill nearer the throne, were platoons of legionaries of all ranks, and of the different branches of the ſervice. The extremities of the columns advanced towards the heights, which were occupied by twenty ſquadrons in battle array, and which were completely covered and decorated with an immenſe crowd of ſpectators, and the tents appointed for the ladies.

"Never was there a diſpoſition more ſimple, nor one which preſented a more impoſing aſpect. But every thing announced that the tempeſt, which prevailed on this part of the coaſt for eight and forty hours, would alſo diſturb the enjoyment of this

ſplendid day. The South-weſt wind accumulated dark clouds, and agitated the waves. The Engliſh cruiſers had retired, and appeared only through the haze of the horizon. At noon the Emperor left his hut, and a ſalute from all the batteries of the coaſt announced his arrival. That inſtant the ſun illuminated the ceremony, and there was no more wind than was ſufficient to make the colours wave.

"On the appearance of the Emperor, the drums began to beat, and ſhouts of joy, on the part of the army and the ſpectators, marked his preſence, and the enthuſiaſm which it excited. The drums then beat a charge, and the different columns inſtantly cloſed their ranks. This fine movement electrified all the heroes with a military ardour.

"The Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour pronounced a diſcourſe; and, after a ruff of the drums, his Majeſty recited the oath; all the legionaries exclaimed, *We ſwear it!* From a ſpontaneous impulſe, the whole army repeated this oath of fidelity and attachment; and cries of *Live the Emperor!* reſounded amidſt all the ranks, who brandiſhed their arms, and waved their colours, by way of expreſſing their joy. The great officers, the commandants, the officers, and the legionaries, then approached the throne, where, being preſented by the Miniſter at War, they individually received from his Majeſty's hands the decoration of the Eagle.

"It was delightful to behold the Marſhals of the Empire, the Generals, the Counſellors of State, the Prefects, Biſhops, Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, receiving, each in their turn, the reward of honour, from the hands of Buonaparté, who, recogniſing all of them, received them as the companions of his

toils and his glory. The decorations were held up by ſeveral officers, in the helmets and bucklers of the armour of Dugueſclin and Bayard.

"The ſight of this ſplendid and brave army, of thoſe fields, of thoſe ports, the work of their hands, of thoſe piers and light-houſes, reſounding with the noiſe of the waves and cannon; the view of the chalky coaſts of England; thoſe rays of the ſun darting through the clouds to illuminate this auguſt ſcene; thoſe hoſtile veſſels, toſſed by the tempeſt, and diſappearing in the haze of the horizon; all theſe objects combined, gave to the ſentiments and thoughts excited by the preſence of the Emperor, on the ſoil once trod by Cæſar, a grandeur, an indefinite charm, incapable of being expreſſed.

"There was one trait wanting to complete this magnificent picture. The flotilla could not go out; but the ſtars of the Emperor conducted one, as if for the expreſs purpoſe, from Havre. All eyes were turned towards the ſea, and the moſt lively joy was manifeſted, in beholding the ocean pay its tribute to the entertainment of the Emperor; and that convoy, which had been expected for ſix days, arrived at the moment of the ſolemnity.

"It was now four o'clock; the wind freſhened, and the billows roſe. After the flotilla entered, four boats, and five pinnaces, which had cleared the Channel, grounded on the ſand-bank under the wooden fort; they have, however, received no damage, and next tide they will be floated off and brought into harbour.

"The Emperor paſſed the evening in his hut; and all the legionaries were entertained at the tables of Prince Joſeph, the Miniſter at War, the Miniſter

of the Marine, Marſhal Soult, and Admiral Bruix, in tents decorated in a military ſtile, and the health of the Emperor was drank with enthuſiaſm, amidſt the report of all the artillery of the batteries on the coaſt."

About this time it was ſaid, "all that belongs to England, is finally threatened by 1,500 veſſels which compoſe our flotilla, with ſixty ſhips of the line, and a valiant army, commanded by the firſt generals in the world." About this time alſo, the French made no ſecret of their means for tranſporting 200,000 men over to the Engliſh ſhores in the courſe of a night. However, from theſe preparations it is clear that Buonaparté was very ſuddenly called off, even while he was at Boulogne, where, it is probable, he received ſuch information reſpecting the Emperor of Auſtria, as induced him to leave the coaſt without delay, and ſoon after, inſtead of paſſing the Channel, to prepare for paſſing the Rhine, to which boundary it appeared the Auſtrian troops were faſt approaching; or, as a hiſtorian of that day expreſſed it with reſpect to Buonaparté; having ſatisfied himſelf of the efficiency and excellent appointment of this vaſt body of troops, not leſs at that moment than 115,000 diſciplined ſoldiers, without counting upon the cavalry or artillery; he again proceeded to Paris, where the threatening aſpect of affairs, required his immediate preſence." In our next we ſhall take a retroſpective view of the negociations between England on one ſide, and Auſtria and Ruſſia on the other, which led to the rupture on the continent, which will, alſo, be our province to deſcribe.

CHAPTER XII.

Immediate Causes of the Rupture with Austria, Russia, and Sweden.—Account of Treaties, &c.—Baron Novosiltzoff arrives at Berlin on his Way to Paris.—Returns abruptly.—Official Note.—Conduct of Austria induces the French Emperor to postpone his Projects against England, and march his Army from Boulogne.—Reply to M. Novosiltzoff's Note.—State of the Russian Influence, exerted over Turkey and Persia.—French Exposé, in the Conservative Senate, &c.—Recriminations upon Austria for violating the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville.—Austria charged with passing the Inn, and invading the Elector of Bavaria, and the previous Reception of English Money.—The French Emperor Addresses the Senate.

WE have now to recur to the more immediate causes of the breaking up of the camps on the banks of the sea, to transfer them to those of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Danube. From the tenor of several of the official papers, that had appeared in the course of 1804, on the part of Austria and Russia, it might have been expected, that, ultimately, fresh efforts would be made to assist the English and renew the war. In consequence of these preliminary steps, so early as the 11th of April, a treaty of concert between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, was signed at Petersburgh; in virtue of which, after observing, "That the state of suffering, in which Europe was placed, demanded speedy remedy, the Contracting Parties mutually agreed to

conſult upon the means of putting a ſtop thereto, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French Government. In this view, they agreed to employ the moſt prompt and moſt efficacious means to form a general league of the ſtates of Europe; and, in order to accompliſh the end propoſed, to collect together a force, that, independently of the ſuccours furniſhed by his Britannic Majeſty, might amount to 500,000 effective men, and to employ them with energy: in order, either to induce or compel the French Government to conſent to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and the balance of Europe.

The objects propoſed to be obtained by this league were, the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory and the North of Germany:

The eſtabliſhment of the independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland:

The re-eſtabliſhment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large a territory as circumſtances would permit:

The future ſecurity of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the Iſland of Elba included, by the French forces:

The eſtabliſhment of an order of things in Europe which might effectually guarantee the ſecurity and independence of the different ſtates, and preſent a ſolid barrier againſt future uſurpations.

His Britannic Majeſty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by ſea and land, as well as veſſels for tranſporting troops in the general plan of operations; and to aſſiſt the different powers by ſubſidies, which ſhould cor-

reſpond with the amount of their reſpective forces ſo employed.

It was mutually agreed that, in the event of this league being formed, they would not make peace with France, but with the common conſent of all the powers who ſhould become parties to it.

Sweden and Auſtria had already entered into theſe views, though they had not yet manifeſted any intention of proceeding to hoſtilities before they had tried the effect of negotiation: and it ſeems that Baron Novoſiltzoff was on his way to Paris to negociate, and had reached Berlin, when the intelligence of the annexation of Genoa to the French Empire arrived there: this ſtep was ſuppoſed to be of ſufficient importance to put a ſtop to all further proceedings, ſhort of hoſtilities; for, as it ſeems that the Baron applied to his Court for inſtructions, the reſult was, his recal.—But before his departure, he addreſſed a Note to Baron Hardenberg, dated July 10, 1805, which was communicated to the latter, through the medium of M. La Foret, the French Reſident at Berlin. This Note explained the cauſe of the interruption of the Baron's miſſion.

This ſtep being looked upon as a ſignal for Auſtria to avow herſelf a member of this new Confederacy, a treaty to that effect was ſigned, on the 9th of Auguſt, by the Auſtrian Plenipotentiary at Peterſburgh.

About the ſame period, a Note was preſented by the Auſtrian Ambaſſador at Paris, announcing that the anxious deſire of his Government to promote a general pacification had only been interrupted by the changes recently made in the condition of the Republics of Genoa and Lucca. But, though war

was predetermined on the part of Auſtria, the Auſtrian Miniſter urged the renewal of meaſures of conciliation, in which the Court of Vienna, again offered her moſt earneſt aſſiſtance: but to the ſophiſtry and political fineſſe made uſe of on this occaſion, the following Note, from M. Talleyrand, is certainly the beſt reply; not only becauſe it relates to circumſtances of diplomatic duplicity; but, becauſe the reſults of this conduct, on the part of the Allies, are there anticipated in that maſterly manner, which has been the general lot of almoſt every ſtate paper, publiſhed on the part of France, from the very firſt æra of the late, and the preſent unfortunate war. Theſe papers have, uniformly, foretold defeat and diſaſter on the part of the enemies of France; and theſe predictions (our naval victories excepted) have always been realized.

Firſt Note from M. DE TALLEYRAND, *delivered on the 13th of Auguſt*, 1804, *to* COUNT PHILIP COBENTZEL.

"The underſigned has haſtened, on the termination of the conference which he has had the honour of holding with Count de Cobentzel, to tranſmit to Boulogne the Declaration delivered to him by his Excellency, (alluding to the Auſtrian declaration of the 5th of Auguſt) and he has received orders from the Emperor and King to return the following anſwer:—The Emperor could not fail of being ſenſibly affected by the ſentiments of moderation ſhewn in the aforeſaid Declaration, and by the amicable readineſs of his Majeſty, the Emperor of Germany and Auſtria, to haſten, by his interpoſition, the termination of the evils cauſed by the war to the French Empire. But the more his Majeſty knows how to appretiate the importance and the value of the good offices of his Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, the more he is grateful for the

intention with which the offer of thoſe good offices is made, and the more does he feel that his very ſentiments of gratitude forbid him to make uſe thereof: if, on the one hand, from the nature of things, and, on the other, from the ſituation of circumſtances, it is not even permitted to hope, that they can be employed with advantage, nor, conſequently, without compriſing the dignity of the Mediator, this motive alone would be deciſive for his Majeſty, even if it were poſſible to forget how the Cabinets of London and St. Peterſburgh have, very lately, anſwered his moſt noble and magnanimous behaviour. M. de Novoſiltzoff was coming to France without the Emperor's knowing his intentions. The King of Pruſſia had required paſſports for this Chamberlain of the Emperor of Ruſſia; the paſſports were immediately granted without any explanation. What benefit has his Majeſty derived from this extraordinary conceſſion? An offenſive Note, replete with falſe aſſertions, was the ſole reſult from a miſſion, which the Emperor had neither occaſioned nor required. Being thus attacked in his honour, it is no longer poſſible for him to require or expect any thing of Ruſſia; who, inſtead of being deſirous of peace, finds her own intereſt in war, and founds on its renovation hopes, which ſhe attempts in vain to conceal, when her behaviour unveils them even to thoſe eyes which are the leaſt penetrating. For a twelvemonth paſt the Emperor has received nothing but inſults from the Ruſſian Cabinet. His character and his diſpoſition, are too well known for it to be believed, that he will expoſe himſelf to freſh injuries. It belongs to the Emperor Alexander to judge which alternative appears moſt advantageous for him; whether to perſiſt in a ſyſtem, to the adoption of which he was moved by foreign influence, or to return to more moderate, more juſt, and wiſer ſentiments. He has a greater intereſt in returning to them than France has to lead him back thereto. This alteration muſt be the reſult of his own

consideration, and cannot form an object of any kind of negotiation. As to England, his Majesty made an attempt, eight months ago, to incline her to peace; which attempt Europe knew how to appretiate, and which would not have been in vain, if England had depended solely upon her own resources; but, from the answer returned by the Cabinet of St. James's, it was clear that it would not think of a peace till it had lost every hope of setting the continent in flames, and of covering Italy with blood and carnage. With this intention, and with this intention alone, it called upon the interposition of Russia. The Cabinet of Vienna is too enlightened not to perceive this, though the projects and motives of England were not known to it, from the pressing solicitations, and from the offer of subsidies with which she has constantly besieged the Court of Vienna, to induce it to take up arms. It cannot be hoped that such a power will listen to the advice of moderation and justice. It would even be useless to speak to it of its interest, which ought to be dearest to it. Blind passions induce it to mistake those interests. The voice of persuasion would avail nothing; but that which the good offices of Austria cannot induce England to do, Austria can oblige her to do. She needs neither exertions nor menaces for this purpose, but merely to observe a very simple process, which will convince England of her impotence. England knows, and has more than once declared, that Russia alone cannot afford her any assistance, and that a diversion will be of no use to her, as long as Prussia and Austria will not co-operate with her. Prussia has declared, at all times, that she will, in no case, enter into any hostile project against France. Let the Emperor of Austria make the same declaration, and the British Cabinet will immediately feel its own interest, as it is no longer deceived by unfounded imaginations, and informed by the opinion of the most enlightened people of that country; it will immediately see the necessity of returning to the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, and she will find her happiness in this neces-

fity. Then the Emperor of Germany will not only have a claim upon the gratitude of the Emperor of the French, but he will have effected more for his own advantage than if he had gained ten battles againſt France; for an immediate conſequence of the peace would be the performance of the obligation which his Majeſty the Emperor of the French has taken upon himſelf, and which he renews with pleaſure, of ſeparating the crowns of France and Italy.—If, on the other hand, Auſtria, by indeciſive meaſures, leave a doubtful and uncertain opinion; if thereby ſhe authoriſes the aſſertions of the Engliſh miniſtry, that ſhe belongs to a coalition; if ſhe continues to keep 72,000 men in Italy; the Emperor will be obliged to believe, that ſhe ſees with a ſecret joy a war which weakens France, and that ſhe thinks the moment favourable for reſuming thoſe hoſtilities of which the preſent generation muſt be tired of being made the victims. His Majeſty, who has only 50,000 men in Italy, 15,000 of whom are at the extremity of the Kingdom of Naples, ſees his moſt important frontier expoſed to danger, and cannot provide it with freſh troops without drawing the troops from his Army of the Ocean; he can, therefore, not conſider Auſtria in any other light than that of making a diverſion in favour of England, which is as impreſſive, and more troubleſome to him, than would be an open war. His Excellency Count Cobentzel will have remarked what great and extraordinary ſubjects the preſent circumſtances offer; ſuch circumſtances render meaſures neceſſary anſwerable thereto. It is a truth, of which all enlightened men are ſenſible, and of which his Majeſty is penetrated; when Frederic the Second ſaw that a war was intended againſt him, he was beforehand with his enemies; the Houſe of Auſtria has, more than once, done the ſame. At preſent the Emperor of the French ſees preparations making in Poland and in Italy; even the places where they are made ſhew that they are the reſult of an agreement, and point out againſt whom they are intended. The underſigned muſt aſk of Count Cobentzel,

What would the Emperor of Germany do if he were in the place of the French Emperor? However, the Emperor will be happy to suppose the best for futurity, as it depends on Austria to make what is to come happy for Europe, and as he takes the sentiments expressed in the Note, which the undersigned has received of Count Cobentzel, for a good omen. May Austria issue the same declaration which Prussia has made; may she, by acts, confirm that declaration, and reduce her whole force, and the whole artillery, &c. of her army, to the peace establishment; may she no longer keep 72,000 men in Italy; may she order back to their garrisons the regiments assembled to form an army in the Tyrol, and cease the establishing of magazines and the fortified camps, which announce an approaching war, and nothing will further disturb the peace of the Continent; this peace, so desirable to all parties, since France has nothing to gain by a fresh combat; Austria will gain nothing by it, and the maritime peace will soon follow. When Austria shall have declared that she remains neutral, and will remain neutral, a peace will be the desire and hope of England; it will be concluded, and the Treaty of Amiens will be restored before the month of January. The crowns of France and Italy will be separated for ever: Europe, enjoying security and tranquillity, will owe them to the wisdom of Austria, which, by an opposite behaviour, would have precipitated Europe into a situation, which neither the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, nor the Cabinet of Vienna, nor any other, could calculate or foresee. His Excellency Count Cobentzel will see, that in those communications, which the undersigned has been ordered to make to him, it was impossible for his Majesty to proceed with more openness, dignity, and sincerity. For the interest of Austria herself, and for the glory of her Sovereign, his Majesty wishes that the Emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity which is offered to him: the fate of his own States, and that of Europe, is now in his hands; in one hand he holds the dis-

turbances and revolutions, in the other the general peace: an impartial neutrality, sufficient for him to obtain what he desires and to ensure the peace of the world. The most efficacious mediation of peace which Austria can make consists in the preservation of the most perfect neutrality; in the cessation of armaments; in not obliging France to make a diversion; and in leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side.

"The undersigned can have no doubt but his Excellency Count Cobentzel will set a due value upon the subjects discussed in the present Note, and contribute, by his influence, to have them considered in that point of view, &c.

(Signed) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

By this Note it appears, as well as from the slight pretext that occasioned the return of Novosiltzoff, that his coming to negociate was only a political manœuvre, probably to gain time. In this Document it also appears, that what is there styled "the assertions of the English ministry, that she (Austria) belongs to a coalition, was taken up from the paragraphs, inserted several months before as common articles of news in the ministerial newspapers. But, however, the misguided Emperor of Austria could not then see, that the late neutrality, or, rather, warfare, which he has been, ultimately, compelled to adopt, would then have been the wisest measure he could have pursued; a measure which might have saved some of the fairest of his provinces and the flower of his armies.

But, contrary to the adoption of a rational system, a few days more made it evident to the French Government, that, as all hopes of convincing the Austrian Emperor of his mistaken policy were vain, it was proper to inform him, they were neither ignorant of the force he was preparing to act against

them, nor fearful of the conſequences that might ariſe from it. In a ſecond Note from M. Talleyrand, delivered on the 16th of Auguſt, he tells Count Cobentzel all that England then wiſhed to hear.—"His Majeſty," ſaid he, "entirely occupied with the war, which England had raiſed, ſince he had given Auſtria no cauſe of complaint, hoped that Auſtria would preſerve the ſtricteſt and moſt impartial neutrality; but the movements of troops, and the other hoſtile diſpoſitions in the Hereditary States, at which Europe is either uneaſy or aſtoniſhed, compel his Majeſty to demand not only a categorical explanation, but a moſt ſpeedy one. The repeated accounts, which the Emperor receives from all quarters, *compel him to poſtpone his projects againſt England*, and thus Auſtria has done as much as if ſhe had commenced hoſtilities; for ſhe has made the moſt powerful diverſion in favour of England. Auſtria aſſembles an army in the Tyrol, whilſt France has evacuated all Switzerland. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows very well, that Auſtria has nearly 72,000 men in Italy, whilſt France has not 50,000 there, 15,000 of whom are on the Gulf of Tarento; and this is the very cauſe that has principally determined him to *ſuſpend his projects*. Auſtria raiſes camp fortifications everywhere, as if a war were already declared, or very near at hand: all the Auſtrian troops are in motion; all have quitted their garriſons in which they were quartered; all are marching in a direction which announces war; and how, indeed, could the Emperor of Auſtria aſſemble ſo many regiments with a pacific intention in a country ſo barren and poor as the Tyrol, where he can only maintain them to the detriment of his finances? Why ſhould he eſtabliſh magazines? why ſhould he

order the baking of biſcuit? why ſhould he take up ſo many draughthorſes? It is a principle in the public law of Europe, that the aſſembling of troops, eſtabliſhing of magazines, baking of biſcuit, &c. are conſidered, by all powers, as a declaration of war; eſpecially, if ſuch preparations are made on a frontier which is left unprovided, by a power employed elſewhere, at an oppoſite and very diſtant frontier. His Majeſty, deſirous of reconciling thoſe diſpoſitions with the pacific expreſſions of the Emperor of Germany, can only reconcile them on the ſuppoſition, that this monarch knows nothing of the wrong that has been done to France, and that the diverſion, occaſioned by his armament, is tantamount to actual hoſtilities. His Majeſty is ſtill deſirous of perſuading himſelf, that that Monarch really knows nothing of it; but the natural conſequences of a ſimilar error are equally as detrimental to France as poſitive hoſtile intentions; and, for this very reaſon, his Majeſty's intereſt requires to be beforehand with them: it is no longer proteſtations which can ſatisfy his Majeſty; he cannot admit any intermediate ſtate betwixt that of war or peace: if Auſtria wants peace, everything in Auſtria muſt be reſtored to the peace eſtabliſhment; ſhould Auſtria deſire war, his Majeſty will have no other alternative, than to throw back upon the aggreſſor all the evils which he would bring, not only upon the preſent generation, but alſo (his Majeſty dares to utter it with pride) upon his *own ſtates and his own family*; for his Majeſty will flatter himſelf *to obtain, in a new war, ſimilar victories as in the preceding*; and to ſecure himſelf againſt thoſe diverſions, which are, as it were, the firſt ſtep of a coalition *in favour of England*.—The underſigned, has, therefore, received

orders, on the ſuppoſition that Auſtria is deſirous of peace, to demand.—1. That the twenty-one regiments, which have been ſent to the German and Italian Tyrol, ſhall be withdrawn, and that thoſe troops only ſhall remain, in both the ſaid provinces, which were there ſix months ago.—2. That the camp fortifications be diſcontinued: the Emperor does not require that Auſtria ſhall not erect real fortifications; the right of erecting them belongs to all ſtates, and precaution often makes it the duty of a prince: but, as Venice is certainly no fortreſs, the works carrying on there at preſent are nothing elſe than campworks. —3. That the troops in Stiria, in Carinthia, in Friuli, and in the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they ſtood ſix months ago.—Laſtly, That Auſtria declare to England her firm and unſhaken determination to preſerve an exact and ſcrupulous neutrality, without taking a part in the preſent diſpute; becauſe it is the duty of Auſtria, if ſhe will preſerve a ſyſtem of neutrality, to do nothing, either mediately or immediately, in favour of England. The underſigned was alſo ordered to declare to Count Cobentzel; or, rather, to repeat the declaration, ſo often made to him, That the deareſt wiſh of the Emperor of the French is, the continuance of the peace with the German Emperor; that his Majeſty would unwillingly take thoſe ſteps which he would be obliged to take by a poſitive refuſal, or even an evaſive or dilatory anſwer, to the demands then made; but that, in a ſituation like that of Auſtria, Prince Charles would not heſitate; as that prince is too good a ſoldier not to behave in a ſimilar manner; and that, if his Majeſty is obliged to repel force by force, he will not commit the fault, to wait until the

Ruſſians have joined the Auſtrians againſt him. Count Cobentzel knows too well the importance and urgency of the preſent circumſtances, for the underſigned to invite him to haſten, as much as is poſſible, an anſwer, which his Majeſty expects with an impatience juſtified on ſo many grounds.

"The underſigned ſeizes this opportunity, &c.

"C. M. TALLEYRAND."

As Ruſſia had evidently become a party in this new war upon the groundwork of the aggrandizement of France in Germany and Italy; and as this was alſo an outline in the Ruſſian Notes, &c. it was incumbent on the French Government to reply to theſe ſuggeſtions.—Of courſe, in anſwer to the Note addreſſed to the Court of Berlin by M. Novoſiltzoff, the former complained of its being, unſeaſonably, publiſhed in the German journals: that it contained falſe aſſertions; that the Emperor of the French had for a long time obſerved, in ſilence, the progreſs of Ruſſia towards the South of Aſia; he ſaw, with juſt uneaſineſs, the danger that threatened Perſia and Turkey; two great empires, one of which cannot be overcome without involving the other in inevitable ruin; and one of which is the ſole barrier between the continent and Ruſſia. The States of the Grand Seignior are not only threatened, but his cabinet is beſieged by intriguers and humbled by new demands: all the provinces, particularly thoſe inhabited by the Greeks, were repreſented as being under the influence of Ruſſian agents. The Ruſſian ſquadrons pervade the Ottoman ſeas, and carry arms and recruiting parties to their coaſts. It was added, that, in reality,

Ruſſia took no ſincere part in the intereſts of the Continent, but interfered in political ſtorms only to increaſe hatred and inflame paſſion. Ruſſia had even demanded paſsports for M. Novoſiltzoff, as a negotiator, whom ſhe never ſent to Paris: theſe the Emperor granted, but heard no more of that Miniſter! All recrimination, therefore, on the part of Ruſſia, the Emperor viewed as only a pretext, and a pretext without truth. France had broken off no negotiation; ſince it ſhould be underſtood, that paſsports ſolicited, and obtained, do not conſtitute a negotiation. France ſaid nothing—Ruſſia alone made a demonſtration; viz. a feint, and demanded that one of her agents ſhould be heard; that agent was, abruptly, withdrawn!

The repreſentations of the French Emperor did not terminate here; they alſo formed the baſis of an *Expoſe;* which was read, by the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, in the Conſervative Senate of France, on the 23d of September, 1805. The infamy of the war was, in this Document, again imputed to England.—"England," it was ſaid, "was afraid of beholding the French Colonies, once ſo flouriſhing, riſe from their ruins, and riſe, as it were, from their aſhes: her inſatiable avidity, which coveted the monopoly of the commerce of all nations, and that unbounded pride, which induces her to look upon herſelf as the miſtreſs of the ſeas, cheriſhed in her the deſire of driving the French flag from thoſe ſeas, or to reduce it to a ſtate of degradation: the cauſe, then, that France had to defend was that of Europe. The Emperor, at eaſe reſpecting the diſpoſitions of the Continent, turned all his thoughts to the maritime war, for which everything was to be created. Fleets

were built; ports were excavated; camps were formed on the ſhores of the ocean; the Emperor had aſſembled there all the forces of the Empire, and his troops were preparing for new triumphs. England perceived the dangers with which ſhe was menaced; ſhe wiſhed to obviate them by crimes: aſſaſſins were thrown upon the coaſt of France; (this paſſage alludes to the French Royaliſts, ſaid to have been landed by Captain Wright, in the preceding year; who, being made priſoner, was detained in the Temple, with the utmoſt rigour.) The Engliſh miniſters to neutral powers became the agents of a warfare of conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations. The Emperor ſaw into theſe pitiful conſpiracies; he treated them with contempt, and was not thereby prevented from offering peace, on the ſame terms he had before propoſed. So much generoſity could not aſſuage, nay, ſeemed to augment, the frenzy of the Cabinet of St. James's.

All this while it appeared, that Auſtria, which had twice experienced, at the end of two diſaſtrous wars, after the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, the generoſity France was diſpoſed to ſhew to a vanquiſhed enemy, did not, by any means, pay the ſame religious obſervance to treaties as France.

It was further urged againſt Auſtria; that, notwithſtanding the ſtipulations of the two former treaties, the debt of Venice was not diſcharged; it was even declared extinguiſhed. The French Emperor was aware that his ſubjects of Milan and Mantua had thus experienced a denial of juſtice, and that the Court of Vienna had liquidated none of their demands, in contempt of the ſolemn engagements which it had entered into. He was aware that the

commercial relations of his Kingdom of Italy with the Hereditary States were ſubject to obſtructions; and that his ſubjects found in Auſtria a very different reception from that which a ſtate of peace gave them a right to expect. As to the indemnities in Germany, Auſtria had been treated with a partiality that ought to ſurpaſs even her expectations; yet her conduct ſhewed, that ſhe was far from being ſatisfied. She, alternately, employed arts and menaces to procure from the petty princes the ceſſion of ſuch poſſeſſions as ſuited her.—Thus ſhe acquired Lindan, on the Lake of Conſtance, and the Iſle of Menau, on the ſame lake, which placed in her hands one of the keys of Switzerland. She obtained the ceſſion of Altkouſen from the Teutonic Order, which made her miſtreſs of the important port of Rhinau. She had enlarged her territory by a number of other acquiſitions, and was meditating freſh ones. As a means of aggrandiſement, ſhe was not afraid to employ evident uſurpations, which ſhe ſought to conceal under legal forms. Thus, under colour of a right paramount, (a right which ſhe had renounced by a treaty, and the exerciſe of which was incompatible with the execution of the Receſs of the Germanic Empire) ſhe appropriated to herſelf ſome poſſeſſions, which ſhe affected to conſider in a ſtate of diſheriſon, and without legal proprietors, though the Receſs had formally diſpoſed of them towards the diviſion of the indemnities. By theſe means ſhe diſappointed many princes of thoſe poſſeſſions which it had been thought juſt to aſſign them: under pretence of this right paramount, (which, ſo far as regarded the Swiſs, ſhe called the right *d'incamération)* ſhe carried off conſiderable ſums from Switzerland. She ſequeſtered

the fiefs of a neighbouring prince in Bohemia, under pretence of compenſations due to the Elector of Saltzburg; of which, contrary to every right, ſhe claimed to be ſole arbitreſs. She perſiſted, with menaces, to keep recruiting parties in the Bavarian provinces, in Franconia, and Suabia; and interrupted, by every means in her power, the conſcription for the Electoral army there, abuſing the prerogatives formerly granted to the Head of the German Empire, for the common benefit of the ſtates compoſing it, and now fallen into diſuſe. The Receſs of the Empire, a conſequence and fulfilment of the Treaty of Luneville, had for its object, excluſive of the diviſion of the indemnities, to eſtabliſh in the South of Germany an equilibrium, which might enſure its independence, and to prevent thoſe eventual cauſes of miſunderſtanding and war, which an immediate contact between the territories of France and Auſtria might frequently give riſe to. Such was the view of the mediators and of the German Empire; ſuch was the view of juſtice, of reaſon, and of a humane policy, and conformable to the true intereſts of Auſtria herſelf: ſhe, therefore, evidently violated the exiſting treaties, and every one of her acts may be conſidered as an infraction of the peace. Since the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens, Auſtria had recogniſed, by her acts, the pretended right of blockade, which the Cabinet of St. James's has dared to arrogate; and according to which, a ſimple declaration of the Engliſh Admiralty is ſufficient to put under interdict all the coaſts of a vaſt Empire; ſhe had ſuffered, without remonſtrance or complaint, the neutrality of her flag to be continually violated, to

the detriment of France, againſt whom all the violences offered to neutral flags were evidently directed. All theſe facts were known to the Emperor; many of them excited his ſolicitude.

"The Emperor could not, at firſt, believe that Auſtria ſeriouſly wiſhed for war; that ſhe wiſhed to commit to new hazards, and to condemn to new calamities, her people, fatigued by ſo many reverſes, and exhauſted by ſo many ſacrifices. Having had it twice in his power to deprive the Houſe of Auſtria of half its Hereditary States, far from diminiſhing its power, he had increaſed it. If he could not count on its gratitude, he though the could rely on its faith." (This Document, then proceeding to relate the recent conduct of the Emperor of Auſtria, obſerves,) "At length, throwing off the maſk, Auſtria has, in a tardy anſwer, manifeſted, by her language, what ſhe had announced by her preparations. To the repreſentations of France ſhe has anſwered by accuſations. She has made herſelf the apologiſt of England; and announcing that ſhe was opening her ſtates to two Ruſſian armies, ſhe avowed, openly, the concert that exiſts between her and Ruſſia in favour of England. The Emperor, however, determined to demand of the Court of Vienna explanations, which ſhould make known the baſis upon which negotiations could be carried on. He ordered the Miniſter of Foreign Relations to prepare a Note to this effect. The courier who was to be the bearer of it, was on the point of ſetting out, when the Emperor was informed of the invaſion of Bavaria. The Elector had been ſummoned to join his army to that of Auſtria; and, as if his anticipated refuſal to make common cauſe with Auſtria (from which he never received but evil,

againſt France, from which he never received but good,) could have been to the Court of Vienna a juſt motive for war: the Auſtrian army, in contempt of all the moſt ſacred rights, paſſed the Inn, and overrun Bavaria, in profound peace! After ſuch an act of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor could have no longer any thing to demand of it. It became evident, that even this Congreſs, propoſed with a tone ſo imperious, and with views ſo viſibly hoſtile to France, was but a new ſnare for its good faith: that Auſtria, irrevocably determined on war, would not return to its pacific ideas, and that ſhe was not even free to return to them. The courſe of exchange, at all places, *proved, evidently*, that a part of the ſums granted to the Engliſh Miniſter, to anſwer his purpoſes on the continent, had reached its deſtination; and the power which had ſo bartered its alliance could no longer ſpare ſhedding the blood of its people, the price of which it had received. All farther explanation with the Court of Vienna having thus become impoſſible, the appeal to arms is the only reſource compatible with honour. Let England applaud herſelf for having at length found Allies; let her rejoice that blood is about to flow over the continent; let her flatter herſelf that *her* blood will be ſpared; let her hope to find ſafety in the diſcord of other ſtates: her joy will be of ſhort duration; her hope will be in vain; and the day is not far diſtant when the rights of nations will, at length, be avenged. The Emperor, obliged to repel an unjuſt aggreſſion, which he had, in vain, exerted himſelf to prevent, has been obliged to ſuſpend the execution of his firſt deſigns. He has withdrawn from the borders of the ocean thoſe veteran bands, ſo often vic-

torious, and he marches at their head. He will not lay down his arms till he has obtained full and entire satisfaction, and a complete security, as well for his own dominions, as those of his Allies."

But his appeals to Europe, and the French Nation did not rest here. On the 23d of September, addressing the Senate at Paris, he said, he felt it an urgent duty to appear among them, and make them fully acquainted with his sentiments. "I am," said he, "just leaving my capital, to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my Allies. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe, but the French name will emerge with renovated and increased lustre. What promises I have made to the French People I have fulfilled, and the French People have more than performed every engagement they have made with me. They will, at a moment so important for their glory and mine, persist in asserting the name of the *Great People*; a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and glory." He concluded in these words: "Frenchmen! your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers, and the Senate, will also discharge theirs." It is scarcely too much to assert, that no monarch or general was ever better seconded in the field, than Napoleon was after, as well as before, he made this declaration. This effectual aid was quite contrary to the expectation of the English and their Allies, who vainly imagined the French people would have been disheartened at the prospect of a fresh war, and such a formidable coalition, as the united forces of Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria, could not fail to present. Some of the means that pro-

duced such an uncommon share of public spirit among the French people it will be our province to notice hereafter, in consequence of those hostilities, which put that public spirit to a proof so severe and difficult, as to have but few examples in history. The means we allude to, are those that always distinguish the great statesman as well as the warrior. Though engaged in preparations for a most formidable campaign, it will appear that the autumn of 1805 was distinguished by an act of toleration in behalf of the poor Vaudois, or Waldenses, who had been the constant objects of persecution, with all the preceding monarchs of France. The fall of the latter, though it introduced a new order of things, more favourable to religious liberty than any that ever existed before, since the popes exercised their usurpations over churches and kingdoms upon the continent, was, nevertheless, deplored by some who call themselves Protestants! the subjects, too, of a kingdom which lays a claim to being thought one of the most enlightened in the world, and always professes to be governed by a "*most religious and gracious King!*"

CHAPTER XIII.

The Route and Diviſions of the French Army.—Proclamation iſſued by Buonaparté.—He paſſes the Rhine.—A Junction formed with the Bavarians.—The Auſtrians advance, under Mack.—The Affair of Wertingen.—The Battle of Guntzburg.—The French approach towards Ulm.—The Auſtrians repulſed, in a Sortie, from Ulm.—The Archduke Ferdinand, with Twenty-five Thouſand Men, eſcapes from Ulm, is purſued, and overtaken upon the Pruſſian Territory, which he had violated.—The French Emperor's Proclamation, the Evening before the Surrender of Ulm.—Account of the Capitulation.—The Converſation between Napoleon and ſeveral Officers.—The new Idea of a Campaign completed in a Fortnight.—Operations upon the Pruſſian Territory.—Proceedings of Marſhal Maſſéna in Italy againſt the Archduke Charles.

THE French army, eſtimated at about 140,000 men, had, in a ſhort time, made very rapid advances towards the ſcene of action; it moved in ſix diviſions; the firſt corps, under Marſhal Bernadotte, commenced its route from Hanover about the ſame time that the army ſet out from Boulogne, and reached Wurtzburgh, in Franconia, on the 23d of September, by the route of Gottingen and Francfort. General Marmont proceeded from Holland to Mentz, at the head of the ſecond corps, and paſſed the Rhine at Caſſel; and the third corps, under Marſhal Davouſt, paſſed the Rhine on the 26th, at Manheim, and advanced by Heidelberg and Neckar Eltz, on the Neckar. The fourth corps, under Marſhal Soult,

paſſed the Rhine on the ſame day, by a bridge thrown over at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbrun on the Neckar. Marſhal Ney, with the fifth diviſion, likewiſe croſſed that river, by a flying bridge, oppoſite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard. The ſixth corps, commanded by Marſhal Lannes, paſſed the Rhine on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louiſburgh. Prince Murat, with the reſerve of the cavalry, paſſed the Rhine at Kehl, and took a poſition, in which he remained ſeveral days, before the defiles of the Black Foreſt; as it were to make the Auſtrians believe the French army meant to take that route. On the 30th of September the great park of artillery paſſed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced towards Heilbrun. The main body being upon the German ſide of the Rhine, the French Emperor iſſued the following

PROCLAMATION TO THE TROOPS.

"SOLDIERS!

"The war of the Third Coalition has begun: the Auſtrian army has paſſed the Inn, violated treaties, and attacked and driven our Ally from his capital.—You, yourſelves, have been compelled to advance, by forced marches, to the defence of our frontiers. Already you have paſſed the Rhine. We will not again make peace without a ſufficient guarantee.—Our policy ſhall no more give way to our generoſity. Soldiers! your Emperor is in the midſt of you: you are only the advanced guard of a great people. If it ſhould be neceſſary, they will all riſe, at my voice, to confound and diſſolve this new League, which has been formed by the hatred and gold of England. But, Soldiers, we ſhall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obſtacles may be oppoſed to us, we will overcome them, and

we ſhall take no reſt till we have planted our Eagles on the territory of our enemies.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON," &c.

Having left his court, accompanied by his ſtaff, and a part of his guards, he croſſed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 29th, to join his army: that night he paſſed at Ettlingen, where he was viſited by the Elector and Princeſs of Baden; the next day he proceeded to Louiſburgh, and took up his reſidence in the Elector of Wirtemburgh's palace. On the ſame day the diviſions under Bernadotte and Marmont formed a junction with the Bavarians at Wurtzburgh, and commenced their march to the Danube. Marſhal Davouſt's corps marched from Neckar Eltz, through Ingelfingen, Dunkelſbuhl, Attingen, and Donawert. Marſhal Soult's corps marched through Abſgemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. Marſhal Ney alſo proceeded from Stutgard by Eppingen, Wiſſenſtein, &c. Marſhal Lanne's corps took his route from Louiſburgh, through Pluterhauſen, Aalen, and Oettingen. On the 4th of October, the poſition of the French was as follows: Bernadotte, and the Bavarians, were at Weiſſenburg. Marſhal Davouſt, at Attingen on the Reinitz. Marſhal Soult, at Donawert. Marſhal Ney, at Kiſſingen. Marſhal Lannes, at Nereſheim; and Murat, with his cavalry, on the borders of the Danube.

On the other hand, the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of near 90,000 men, under General Mack, had advanced to the defiles of the Black Foreſt, apparently with the intention of preventing the French army from penetrating thoſe defiles. They had thrown up fortifications on the river Iller, and were ſtrength-

ening Memmingen and Ulm; but all these precautionary measures were of little avail, as the French armies had taken another route, which the Austrians never suspected, and were already in their rear. It seems that a division, belonging to Marshal Soult, had, by means of a forced march, got possession of a bridge at Donawert, defended by the Austrian regiment of Colleredo, and with the loss of only a few men. By daybreak the next morning Murat arrived there also with the French cavalry; and, having passed the bridge, he caused it to be repaired; when, in conjunction with the rest of the cavalry, under General Walther, he passed it, and advanced towards the Lech, where he forced the enemy, there posted, to retreat; Murat remained that night at Rain. On the 6th, Marshal Soult, with the two divisions of Generals Vandamme and Legrand, marched towards Augsburgh, while General St. Helaire, with his division, advanced to the same point, by the left bank of the Danube. On the same morning, Prince Murat, at the head of several divisions of cavalry, arrived at Wertingen, in order to cut off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg; here he encountered a considerable body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Alber's cuirassiers. Marshal Lannes, who, with Oudinot's division, had followed these corps, succeeded in defeating and making a part of this portion of the Austrian army prisoners, together with their artillery and baggage. The Austrians on this occasion lost eight standards, the whole of their cannon, a number of officers, and 4,000 men, rank and file.

On the same day, intelligence was received that

Marſhal Davouſt's corps had arrived at Newburg, and that of Marmont and his corps, with the Bavarians, had advanced to Eichtettin. Marſhal Soult, after having put to flight a body of Auſtrians, that had fallen back upon Aicha, entered Augſburg on the 7th with the diviſions of Vandamme, St. Helaire, and Le Grand. Davouſt, who had paſſed the Danube at Newburg, alſo arrived at Aicha with his diviſions, on the evening of the 9th. The Dutch troops, under General Dumonceau, had taken poſt between Aicha and Augſburg.—Bernadotte, with the Bavarians, under Generals De Roy and Verden, had taken poſſeſſion of Ingoldſtadt; and the Imperial guard, under Marſhal Beſſieres, and Hautpolt's cuiraſſiers, arrived at Augſburg. By this time, alſo, Murat's cavalry had occupied the village of Zummerhauſen, to intercept the road from Augſburg to Ulm. Marſhal Lannes, with the diviſions of Oudinot and Suchet, took poſt, on the ſame day, at this village. Here the French Emperor reviewed the troops, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction with their behaviour at the affair of Wertingen; he alſo beſtowed marks of honour upon two dragoons, who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

This action at Wertingen was ſoon followed by one at Guntzburg; where Marſhal Ney, with ſeveral diviſions, and the diſmounted dragoons of Barraguay d'Hilliers, having re-aſcended the Danube, attacked the enemy, firſt in their poſition at Grunberg, and, afterwards, ſucceeded in paſſing the river at Guntzburg, notwithſtanding a gallant reſiſtance on the part of the Auſtrians, who had advanced from Ulm to that place, with the view of collecting a ſufficient force to act upon the offenſive. With this force

they occupied Guntzburg; its right wing reſted upon the village of Limpach and its left on the Kaiſerſberg. The Auſtrians were alſo in poſſeſſion of the bridges on the Danube as far as Leipheim. The French, however, attacked the bridges, which were defended with obſtinacy: the firſt the aſſailants made themſelves maſters of was that of Guntzburg, and the cauſeway leading thereto. The Archduke Ferdinand made a brave attempt to defend this poſt, but was, finally, forced to abandon it, and retreat to Ulm, with the loſs of ſome thouſands of men, and the greateſt part of his cannon. On the other hand, it was ſtated that the French ſuffered conſiderably from the grape ſhot of the enemy, though they were amply recompenſed by obtaining poſſeſſion of a fine military poſition. During theſe tranſactions the centre of the French army paſſed the Danube at Donawert, and the left wing ſtill lower down, at Ingoldſtadt. The latter afterwards took poſt at Pfefferhauſen, on the road to Munich, under Marſha Bernadotte; whilſt the main body proceeded acroſs the river Lech, towards Augſburgh, which city then became the French head-quarters. By this ſucceſſion of bold and rapid movements the whole of the French army had now placed themſelves between Vienna and the Auſtrian General, Mack. Fluſhed with theſe auſpicious preſages of good fortune, thoſe that followed will be viewed with leſs aſtoniſhment.

The French approaching Ulm on all ſides, on the 10th of October the enemy made a ſortie from that city and attacked the diviſion of General Dupont. The battle, the French official paper ſaid, was moſt obſtinate.—"Surrounded by twenty-five thouſand

men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took 1,500 prisoners! This corps," it was added, "should not be astonished at any thing,"

On the 13th the Emperor went, in person, to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. The first operation was to take possession of the bridge and position of Elchingen: he took up his head quarters at the abbey of that place; and on the 15th, at daybreak, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm; after which Murat's corps, and that of Marshal Lannes, put themselves in order of battle, to assault and force the enemy's intrenchments before that city. The day was dreadful; the troops were up to their knees in mud: the Emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days!

Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken, with a considerable quantity of cannon. On the same day it was announced in the bulletin, that, since the commencement of the campaign, the French had made 20,000 prisoners, taken 30 pieces of cannon, and 20 standards, with very small loss on their part. "If to the deaths," say these accounts, the desertions are added, the Austrian army is already reduced one half!"

It ought to be remarked, that, in consequence of the preceding movements made by the French armies, the neutrality of Prussia was manifestly violated; as they not only passed through the territory of Anspach and Bayreuth, but occupied those countries. This was a step next to morally impossible for the Austrians to have foreseen; this movement, also, by

ſhortening the route of the French army, gave it incalculable advantages. In the meanwhile the Archduke Ferdinand had no alternative left, but that of ſharing the fate of Mack and the reſt of the Auſtrians ſhut up in Ulm, or that of endeavouring to force his way to Bohemia through Franconia: with 25,000 men he boldly attempted the latter, croſſed the Danube and advanced to Nordlingen; where one whole diviſion, amounting to about 12,000 men, were obliged to lay down their arms. The French purſued their advantages, and again fell in with the remains of the Archduke's corps between Traun and Nuremberg, where they made more priſoners, and the greateſt part of the Auſtrian artillery: they then deſiſted from the purſuit, and the Archduke made good the reſt of his retreat with the wreck of his forces, moſtly cavalry.

It may be proper, now, to return again to the ſituation of Ulm: this city was ſo completely inveſted, that no poſſibility was left for General Mack to eſcape, but by forcing a paſſage through an army four times ſuperior to his own; this was a meaſure too dangerous to attempt. Buonaparté had prepared the minds of his ſoldiers for much greater reſiſtance; as, on the evening before the ſurrender of that city, he iſſued the following ſtriking

ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

"Soldiers! a month ago we were encamped on the ſhores of the ocean, oppoſite to England; but an impious League compelled us to fly towards the Rhine.

"It is but a fortnight ſince we paſſed that river; and the Alps of Wirtemberg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech, thoſe celebrated barriers of Germany, have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an inſtant!—Indigna-

tion againſt a Prince, whom we have twice reſeated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleaſure to hurl him from it, ſupplied us with wings. The enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned; it now fights only for its ſafety! it would gladly embrace an opportunity of eſcaping and returning home; but it is now too late. The fortifications which it erected, at a great expenſe, along the Iller, expecting that we ſhould advance through the paſſes of the Black Foreſt, are become uſeleſs, ſince we have approached by the plains of Bavaria!

"Soldiers! but for the army which is now in front of you we ſhould, this day, have been in London; we ſhould have avenged ourſelves for ſix centuries of inſults, and reſtored the freedom of the ſeas!

"But bear in mind, to-morrow, that you are fighting againſt the Allies of England; that you have to avenge yourſelves on a perjured Prince, whoſe own letters breathed nothing but peace, at the moment when he was marching his army againſt our Ally; who thought us cowardly enough to ſuppoſe, that we ſhould tamely witneſs his paſſage of the Inn, his entry into Munich, and his aggreſſion upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elſewhere; let him, for the third, and laſt time, learn, that we know how to be preſent in every place where the the country has enemies to combat.

"Soldiers! to-morrow will be an hundred times more celebrated than the Day of Marengo—I have placed the enemy in the ſame poſition.

"Recollect, that the moſt remote poſterity will remark the conduct of each of you on this memorable day.—Your progeny, five hundred years hence, who may place themſelves under thoſe Eagles, around which we rally, will know, in detail, every thing that your reſpective corps ſhall achieve to-morrow, and the manner in which your courage ſhall confer on them eternal celebrity.—This will conſtitute the perpetual ſubject of their converſation; and,

from age to age, you will be held up to the admiration of future generations.

Soldiers! if I wished only to conquer the enemy, I should not have thought it necessary to make an appeal to your courage and your attachment to the country and to my person; but merely to conquer him is doing nothing worthy either of you or your Emperor. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy's army shall escape; that that Government, which has violated all its engagements, shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna; and that, on receiving this fatal intelligence, its conscience (if it listen to the voice of conscience) shall tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors, with the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the irruptions of the Cossacs.

"Soldiers, who have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Guntzburg! I am satisfied with your conduct: every corps in the army will emulate you; and I shall be able to say to my People.—'Your Emperor and your Army have done their duty; perform yours:' and the two hundred thousand conscripts, whom I have summoned, will hasten, by forced marches, to reinforce our second line.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

As we cannot possibly relate the affair of Ulm with more brevity than that of the French bulletins, we shall extract from a few of these documents, and, occasionally, add to them such information as we have derived from other quarters.

"The day of Ulm was one of the most brilliant in the history of France.—The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but twenty thousand men, defended by fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance—and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. General Mack, Commander in Chief of the army, was in the town: it is the fate of ge-

nerals opposed to the Emperor to be taken in fortified places. It will be recollected, that, after the brilliant movements on the Brenta, the old Field-marshal Wurmser was made prisoner in Mantua; Melas was also at Alexandria; Mack is so at Ulm! The Austrian army was one of the finest that Austria ever had: it consisted of four ten regiments of infantry, of the the army of Bavaria, as it is called; thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in waggons from Italy: altogether, thirty-two regiments of infantry and fifteen regiments of cavalry.

"The Emperor had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation in which he placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, Melas adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of high roads; he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by these roads, to reassemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim.—A small division retreated by Memmingen; but the Emperor, on the 12th, hastened from Augsburgh to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered everything secure.

"As the Emperor was passing through a crowd of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment to see the Emperor of the French wet, covered with dirt, as much and more fatigued than the meanest drummer in his army. One of his aids-de-camp having explained to him what the Austrian officer

ſaid, the Emperor ordered this anſwer to be made: 'Your Maſter wiſhed to make me recollect that I was a ſoldier; I hope he will allow that the throne and the imperial purple have not made me forget my firſt profeſſion.'

"The appearance of the army on the 15th was really moſt intereſting.—For two days the rain fell in torrents; the whole army was dripping wet; the ſoldiers had no proviſions diſtributed to them; they were up to the knees in mud! But the Emperor infuſed freſh ſpirits into them; and, at the moment he perceived whole columns in this ſtate, he ordered 'Long live the Emperor!' to be cried.

"It is alſo mentioned, that the Emperor replied to the officers who ſurrounded him, and who expreſſed their ſurpriſe, how, in a moment of ſuch diſtreſs, the ſoldiers could forget all their wants, and appear only ſenſible to the pleaſure of ſeeing him—'They are in the right; it is to ſpare their blood that I make them undergo ſuch great fatigue.'

"The Emperor, when the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, ſent for the Prince of Lichtenſtein, Major-general, who was ſhut up in the town, to communicate to him, that he wiſhed it would capitulate; telling him, that, if he took it by ſtorm, he would be under the neceſſity of *acting as he did at Jaffa*, where the whole garriſon was put to the ſword; that it was one of the melancholy rights of war; that he wiſhed that both he, and the brave Auſtrian Nation, were ſpared the neceſſity of ſo dreadful an action; that the place was not tenable; that it ought, therefore, to ſurrender." The Prince required that the officers and ſoldiers ſhould have liberty to return to Auſtria.—"I will grant it,"

replied the Emperor, "to the officers, but not to the ſoldiers; for who will be my ſecurity that they will not be made to ſerve again?" Then, after having heſitated a moment, he added: "Well then, I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand.—If he is in the town, I wiſh to give him a proof of my eſteem, and I will grant to him what you require of me, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its Princes." Upon M. de Lichtenſtein aſſuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, "Then," ſaid the Emperor, "I do not ſee who is to be my guarantee, that the ſoldiers I ſend you back will not be employed again."

"On the 15th, Marſhal Bernadotte having puſhed his advanced poſts as far as Waſſerbourg and Haag, on the high road of Brannau, took four or five hundred priſoners, and 17 pieces of cannon, of different ſizes; having thus taken ſince his entry at Munich, 1,500 priſoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 200 horſes, and a quantity of baggage, *without the loſs of a ſingle man!*

"The Emperor paſſed the Rhine on the 1ſt of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech the ſame day, at half paſt three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th: on the ſame day he was maſter of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm:

"He took from the enemy, at the battles of Wertingen, Guntzburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albreck, Langenau, and Nereſheim, 40,000 men, infantry as well as cavalry; more than 40 ſtand of colours; a

great number of cannon, baggage waggons, &c.; and, to accompliſh all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed!

"In theſe partial actions the loſs of the French army amounts to no more than 500 killed and 1,000 wounded! It is a common remark among the troops; "The Emperor has found out a new method of making war—he only makes us uſe our legs inſtead of our bayonets." Five-ſixths of the army have never fired a ſhot, which has mortified them much: but they have all marched a great deal, and they redouble their activity when they have hopes of overtaking the enemy.

"The eulogy of the army may be made in a few words—it is worthy of its Chief.

"The Auſtrian army may be conſidered as annihilated. The Auſtrians and Ruſſians will be obliged to make many levies of recruits to reſiſt the French army, which has deſtroyed an army of 100,000 men, without experiencing, we may ſay, any loſs!"

Thus it appears, that Ulm was forced to capitulate; for General Mack did not take long to deliberate after the ſummons had been ſent him to ſurrender the place. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, he agreed to give up the city, with all its artillery and magazines, and that the garriſon, of about 30,000 men, after marching out with all the honours of war, ſhould lay down their arms; the field-officers to be allowed to return to Auſtria upon their parole, but the ſubalterns and ſoldiers to be ſent priſoners into France, there to remain until exchanged. It was ſtipulated, however, that the Auſtrian General, Mack, ſhould be allowed the interval up to the 25th, at twelve o'clock, before which he

was not to be required to carry the capitulation into effect; and then, if an Auſtrian or Ruſſian army ſhould arrive in ſufficient force to raiſe the blockade of Ulm, or before twelve at midnight on the 25th, the garriſon, and the commandant, ſhould be entirely releaſed from the terms of the capitulation.

Impatient at the delay which theſe terms would have produced, and eager to loſe no time in making head againſt the Auſtrians and Ruſſians, collecting on the Inn, Buonaparté invited General Mack to an interview on the 19th; the reſult of which was, that Mack, on the aſſurance of the French Marſhal, Berthier, that no ſuccour could poſſibly arrive before Ulm, ſigned an additional article, by which he agreed to evacuate the place, and ſurender the army on the next day, the 20th, on the mere condition that the corps commanded by Marſhal Ney, conſiſting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four of cavalry, ſhould not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm and its environs before the 25th at midnight, the period when the former capitulation was to have expired!

Mack's conduct, in this latter proceeding, can only be accounted for either by folly or villainy; but, whatever were his motives, the Auſtrian garriſon, in compliance with the new capitulation, marched out the day following; and, after filing before the French Emperor, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Buonaparté, who had taken an advantageous ſtation to behold this operation, ſent for General Mack, and the other Auſtrian generals; and, while their troops were filing by, addreſſed them to the following effect: "Gentlemen! your Maſter wages an unjuſt war: I tell you

plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I know not what can be required of me; my resources are not confined to my present army. These prisoners of war, now on their way to France, will observe the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. At a single word, 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and, in six weeks, become good soldiers! whereas, your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers till after several years. Let me advise my brother, the Emperor, to hasten to make peace. All states must have an end; and, in the present crisis, he must feel serious alarms, lest the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should be at hand." He concluded by saying, "I desire nothing further upon the continent; I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

General Mack is reported to have said, in reply, "That the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia." "If that be the case," said Buonaparté, "You are no longer a power." Several other Austrian generals are said to have expressed their dislike to a war which admitted a Russian army into the heart of their country. The French Emperor treated these officers with civility; and to console them, observed, "That the chances of war were various, and that the conquerors might be conquered in their turn."

By the adoption of a phrase, till then unknown among generals or historians, the exploits of a few days were denominated *a campaign*. The following Address was looked upon as a perfect novelty:

Imperial head-quarters at Elchingen, October 21

"Soldiers of the Grand Army! in a fortnight we have finiſhed a campaign: we have accompliſhed our purpoſe: we have expelled the troops of the Houſe of Auſtria from Bavaria, and re-eſtabliſhed our Ally in the ſovereignty of his ſtates. That army, which, with equal oſtentation and imprudence, had poſted itſelf on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what does this ſignify to England? her purpoſe is accompliſhed: we are no longer at Boulogne, and the amount of her ſubſidy will thereby be neither encreaſed nor diminiſhed.

"Of 100,000 men, who compoſed that army, 60,000 are priſoners; they will go to take the place of our conſcripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon (their whole park,) ninety ſtand of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands; there have not eſcaped of this army 15,000 men! Soldiers! I had announced to you a great battle; but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the ſame ſucceſs without running any riſk; and, what is unexampled in the hiſtory of nations, ſo important a reſult has not diminiſhed our force by more than 1,500 men!

"Soldiers! you owe this ſucceſs to your unbounded confidence in your Emperor; to your patience in ſupporting fatigues and privations, of every deſcription, and to your ſingular intrepidity.

"But we will not ſtop here. You are impatient to commence a ſecond campaign. We are about to make that Ruſſian army, which the gold of England has tranſported from the extremities of the univerſe, undergo the ſame fate.

"In this conteſt is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry: it is this which will, a ſecond time, decide the queſtion, already reſolved in Switzerland and Holland—whether the French infantry be the ſecond or the firſt in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating whom I can have any glory to acquire.—All

my care ſhall be to obtain the victory with the leaſt poſſible effuſion of blood—my ſoldiers are my children.

Given at my imperial camp of Elchingen, 29th Vendemaire, 14th year, (21st October, 1805.)

Reſpecting the violation of the Pruſſian territory by the French, it does not ſeem that the Auſtrians were by any means tender on that ſubject, when they were cloſely preſſed. The tenth bulletin gives the following account of its *violation* by the Auſtrian Duke Ferdinand:

"Immediately on the capitulation of General Werneck, near Nordlingen, Prince Ferdinand, with a body of 1,000 cavalry, and ſome artillery, had moved forward; he threw himſelf into the Pruſſian territory, and was proceeding by Gunzenhauſen towards Nuremberg.—Prince Murat purſued him, without delay, and ſucceeded in overtaking him; on which an action enſued, on the road from Furth to Nuremberg, on the evening of the 21ſt. The remainder of the park of artillery, and the whole of the baggage were taken. The horſe chaſſeurs of the Imperial guard covered themſelves with glory; they overthrew every thing that oppoſed them; they charged Mack's regiment of cuiraſſiers. The two regiments of carbiniers alſo ſuſtained their reputation."

We ſhall now advert to the proceedings of the army of Italy, under Marſhal Maſſena, againſt the Archduke Charles.

In Italy, Marſhal Maſſena's army having been ſtrongly reinforced, it had to oppoſe a well compoſed Auſtrian force, under their favourite commander.—But here, as well as in Germany, no time was to be loſt; as a combined force of Ruſſians and Britiſh

were collected at Corfu and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent in Italy; while another army, of Russians, Swedes, and English, were prepared in the North of Germany, to invade Hanover, or for other enterprises, as occasion might offer. The Archduke and General Massena being in the face of each other, on the opposite sides of the river Adige, waited only for the signal of attack; and, on the 17th of October, Massena prepared to force the passage of that river: his army is said to have amounted to 90,000 men; the Austrians, under the Archduke, were estimated at 75,000. In consequence of the preparations made on the part of the French, early on the morning of the 18th Massena caused two false attacks to be made, one on their right the other on their left, while, with the centre of his army, he attempted to force the bridge of Verona; this bridge was barricadoed, and some of the arches cut. These impediments the French overcame with great fortitude, and twenty-four companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, pushed forward across the river, and were soon followed by the whole division, and, shortly after, by all the rest of the army. The Austrians made a gallant resistance, but were obliged to retire to the heights, at some distance, where they had intrenchments: here, however, the attack was renewed; and, if the French gained any advantage, it was so inconsiderable, that they judged it expedient to recross the Adige and occupy their former ground. The Austrians lost seven pieces of cannon, 18 waggons, and about 1,200 prisoners: numbers were killed and wounded on both sides.

On the 20th the French renewed the attack, and, again passing the Adige, they mounted and took pos-

feſſion of the heights of Val Pantena, ſurrounded the caſtle of San Felici, and compelled the Auſtrians to evacuate Venoretto; but, advancing on the road of St. Michael, they met with ſerious oppoſition from the Auſtrians, though the latter, were, at length, driven, with the loſs of 1,500 priſoners and two pieces of cannon.

Hitherto, it was thought Maſſena had been rather confined in his operations, not caring to advance too far before he received information of the ſtate of the campaign in Germany: however, he took poſt within a few miles of Caldiero, near which the Archduke was ſtrongly poſted. Nothing material occurred for ſeveral days; when Maſſena having received the account of the ſurrender of General Mack's army at Ulm, he began to preſs forward with the utmoſt diligence, to execute the plans of co-operation which had been deſigned for him: accordingly, on the 30th of October, he commenced a very vigorous attack upon the whole line of the Archduke's army; General Mollitor formed the left, the centre was commanded by General Gardanne, the right by General Duheſme.—The action began upon the left, and the three ſucceſſive attacks were bravely reſiſted by the Auſtrians, who were, at length, forced to retire to the adjacent heights; here the battle was renewed: twenty-four battalions of grenadiers, and ſome other regiments, were ordered by the Archduke to advance againſt the enemy: both ſides fought with great fury; the French cavalry, at length, made ſome impreſſion by their charges: the Auſtrian grenadiers fought with the bayonet, in which they were aſſiſted by the fire of 30 pieces of cannon; notwithſtanding which, they

were, ultimately, driven from the field, with the loſs of upwards of 3,000 priſoners. The Archduke demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, to bury the dead, which was granted: but this was not the only loſs they ſuſtained: a column of 5,000 men, which had been detached from General Roſenburgh's corps, with the deſign of falling upon the rear of the French, was, by the iſſue of the battle, completely cut off.—General Hellinger, who commanded it, at firſt manifeſted an intention to defend himſelf, and even compelled a regiment, ſent againſt him, to take ſhelter under the walls of a caſtle: but he was obliged to deſiſt; for Maſſena having repaired, in perſon, to the ſpot, and four battalions of French grenadiers having ſurrounded the column, the Auſtrian general entered into a capitulation and laid down his arms.

Thus it appears that the Archduke, being ſenſible of his inability to reſiſt the French in this quarter; and, no doubt, being anxious to relieve the Capital of Vienna from the danger that threatened it, from the rapid advances of the grand army, under the Emperor Napoleon, came to the determination of making a poſitive retreat.—In the meanwhile, General St. Cyr having evacuated the kingdom of Naples, conformable to a convention entered into with his Sicilian Majeſty, reinforced the army of Maſſena with 25,000 men. Here we will leave Maſſena, to attend to the more rapid progreſs of the Imperial arms, on the high road to Vienna.

CHAPTER XIV.

Conſequences of the Defeats at Ulm, &c.—The French Emperor proceeds to Munich—The Diſpoſition of the French Army.—They paſs the River Inn near Brannau.—The Retreat of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians towards Vienna.—Emperor of Auſtria's Proclamation—Defeat of different Corps of Auſtrians and Ruſſians.—Saltzburg, Lintz, and the Ems, abandoned.—The Ruſſians make a Stand at Amſtettin.—Defeated.—Count Giulay propoſes an Armiſtice, in the Name of the Allies.—Refuſed.—The French Advance.—Affair of Marienzell.—The Emperor of Auſtria's Proclamations diſregarded by the People of Vienna.—He removes, with his Court, to Brunn—The French take Poſſeſſion of Vienna without firing a Gun.—Their orderly and quiet Behaviour.—A Part of their Army paſs through towards Moravia.—Deception practiſed upon the Prince D'Auerſperg.—The Ruſſians driven.—Uncommon Valour of Five Thouſand French, againſt Twenty Thouſand Ruſſians, at Steen—The Emperor of Auſtria leaves Brunn for Olmutz.—Another Proclamation—The French, in their Turn, impoſed upon, by a Ruſſian Stratagem.—Suſpected by Buonaparté.—Ruſſians attacked and purſued.—Events that led to the memorable Battle of Auſterlitz.

THE Emperor Napoleon, having ordered the ſtates belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria to be taken poſſeſſion of, and the Auſtrian priſoners to be ſent to France, with the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen, ſet out, with the greateſt part of his army, for Augſburg, on his route for Bavaria: he ordered bridge-heads to be raiſed on the bridges

over the Lech, and magazines to be formed beyond them. On the evening of the 24th he reached Munich, the Bavarian capital, where he was joined by Prince Murat, and received great honours. Murat had left a diviſion of the troops, with whom he had purſued the Archduke Ferdinand, on the other ſide of the Danube, under Barrè guay D'Hilliers and General Mortier, and ordered them to obſerve the motions of the Auſtrians. While Napoleon was at Munich the diſpoſition of the French army was thus arranged: the Emperor, at the head of the main body, advanced towards Vienna, and had in his front a corps of Auſtrians, which had been juſt reinforced by the firſt column of the Ruſſian army. To protect his flanks and rear, he ordered the diviſion under Mortier to watch the motions of the Auſtrians in Bohemia, under the Archduke Ferdinand; this ſecured his left: his right was protected by Marſhal Ney, who mounted the Lech up to the confines of the Tyrol, and checked the Auſtrians in that country, under the Archduke John. In addition to theſe corps, the diviſion of Marſhal Augereau, who had, ſubſequently, paſſed the Rhine, occupied the poſts of Swabia about the Lake of Conſtance; thus ſecuring any attempt that might have been made from the Vorarlberg, and, perhaps, to have made head againſt any Pruſſian force that might have croſſed the Danube after the violation of the territory of Anſpach.

The centre of the French army had now reached the Inn, where the Auſtrians and Ruſſians were poſted, and, on the 28th, they effected a paſſage over that river, in the vicinity of Braunau. Marſhal Bernadotte, who had advanced by Waſſerburg, proceeded, on the 27th, to Altingmarkt; there he found the

bridge broken down, and a ſtrong force oppoſed to him: but a corps of French and Bavarians, who had proceeded by Roth to Rotherheim, found the paſſage of the river more practicable at that place, and ſucceeded in croſſing it.—The enemy were obliged to retreat; and, in conſequence, both this bridge and that at Altinmarkt were repaired.

Davouſt's corps, which took the route by Freying, after ſome oppoſition, paſſed the bridge at Multdorf; Murat, with the cavalry, paſſed over the bridges at Oetting and Marchiel. The Auſtrians and Ruſſians, finding their force inadequate to any effectual oppoſition, retreated, ſtep by ſtep, towards Vienna, where all the citizens, capable of bearing arms, were embodied, and a proclamation iſſued; in which the Emperor of Auſtria made a boaſt of "truſting in the juſtice of his cauſe, and in the love and energy of twenty-five millions of people, aided by the powerful aſſiſtance of his Ruſſian auxiliaries!" The Emperor of Auſtria did not hint at the number of women and children among theſe twenty-five millions of people; but the event ſhewed that he might have truſted his cauſe to thoſe with as much effect as to their fathers, their huſbands, or even his *powerful* Ruſſian auxiliaries!

The right bank of the Inn being now left undefended, Marſhal Lannes entered Brannau on the 29th, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, with conſiderable magazines of artillery, powder, and military ſtores, which proved a ſeaſonable ſupply to the French army: Napoleon arrived on the 30th, and fixed his head-quarters at Brannau. From hence Bernadotte was detached to the right, to occupy Saltzburg, ſo as to intercept the communication between the army under the Archduke Charles, in the Venetian territory,

and the Auſtro-Ruſſians. A corps of 6,000 Auſtrians, ſtationed near Saltzburg, that retreated to Oells, were purſued by the French advanced guard, under Kellerman, and overtaken near Paſſing; where, notwithſtanding their ſtrength and poſition, they retired, loſing ſome hundreds of priſoners. Prince Murat, with his cavalry, was the firſt to overtake the Auſtrian rear guard (about 6,000 men) poſted on the heights of Ried: they were charged with great impetuoſity by the French horſe, and forced to give way: the enemy, however, rallied, to protect their baggage, but, after an obſtinate conflict, were put to flight, leaving four or five hundred priſoners. Murat, continuing the purſuit on the 31ſt, again fell in with the enemy's rear near Lambach: here, in conſequence of a ſhew of reſiſtance, the Allies loſt a few pieces of cannon and about 400 men, 100 of whom were Ruſſians. It was now the object of the Allies to ſecure a poſition behind the Ems; but Prince Murat took poſſeſſion of Oells on the 1ſt of November, and, on the ſame day, General Melhaud, with his reſerve of cavalry, entered Lintz, and found conſiderable magazines. The main body of the French army were at the heels of the advanced guard: Marſhal Davouſt approached Styr, on the Ems; and Napoleon, whoſe head quarters were at Laybach, made his arrangements for driving the enemy from the banks of the Ems, the laſt line of defence which remained to them between that river and Vienna: but, as they were aware of the diſpoſitions made for turning their left flank, and obſerving the enemy approaching their front with boldneſs, they abandoned the defence of the Ems and retired ſlowly towards Vienna. The French army loſt no time in croſſing this river, and

preſſed forward with eagerneſs towards the Auſtrian Capital, which was in a ſtate of great conſternation and confuſion. The Ruſſian army made a ſtand on the heights of Anſtettin, in order to reſiſt the progreſs of the French: they were attacked by Prince Murat's cavalry and General Oudinot's grenadiers, and, finally, obliged to quit the field, leaving 1,600 killed, wounded, and priſoners. Thus the Ruſſians, whoſe hardineſs and valour had been the conſtant theme of the Engliſh newſpaper makers, proved equally as weak and as inconſiderable as their Allies, when they came to be oppoſed by the ſuperior activity and military ſkill of the French!

On the 7th of November, at night, the Auſtrian Count Giulay was ſent to the French head-quarters, to try if ſome reſpite could not be obtained, under the idea of a negotiation. Napoleon's head-quarters were at Lintz; and this Count came with propoſals in the name of the Emperor of Germany, and his Allies, to conclude an armiſtice of a few weeks, as a preliminary ſtep towards a negotiation for a general peace. Buonaparté expreſſed his readineſs to accede to the armiſtice, on condition that the Auſtrian Monarch would cauſe the Allied Troops to return home, the Hungarian levy to be diſbanded, and the Duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French army. With this reply Count Giulay returned to his court, and Buonaparté continued his plan of operations.

Murat had already reſtored the bridges over the Ips, and on the 7th eſtabliſhed his head quarters at the celebrated Abbey of Moelk: his advanced poſts were puſhed to St. Polten. Mortier had contrived, with part of his corps, to keep pace on the left bank

of the Danube, with the main army on the oppoſite ſide, ſo as to render it material aſſiſtance. Davouſt now advanced from Steyr by Naydhoffen, Marienzel, and Lilienfeldt, with the project of coming upon the left of the Allies, ſtationed at St. Polten; whilſt the French Emperor, with the centre, moved on to attack the front.

On the 8th the French attacked a diviſion of Auſtrians, under General Meerveldt, near Marienzel, on the road to Vienna, and took three ſtandards, 16 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 priſoners. The remains of this Auſtrian corps, took the route for Hungary in great haſte.

The French Emperor's head-quarters being now at the Abbey of Moelk, a deputation from the magiſtrates of Vienna waited upon him; imploring him to treat their city with lenity, as the unfortunate inhabitants were not the cauſe of the war. He replied, they muſt take care not to open their gates to the Auſtrians or Ruſſians, but only to the French army.

On the 7th of November, the Auſtrian Emperor finding that his whining proclamations were treated by the people as they merited, thought it beſt to retire, and leave them to the mercy of his enemies. He, therefore, ſet out, with his court, to Brunn, in Moravia: his nobles, like other paraſites and *life and fortune men*, fled at the ſame time! The bulk of the people, in the meanwhile, waited patiently for the French: tired of the war, and preſſed down to the earth with taxes, and deſpairing for the want of trade; to them a change could ſcarcely be for the *worſt*, it might even be for the *better*. Beſides, they hated the Ruſſians, the agents of "religious and regular governments," for their barbarity. Of courſe,

the French took poſſeſſion of the Imperial capital of Vienna, without firing a gun.

The moſt reſpectable of the inhabitants even formed a national guard, under the direction of the French General, who was made governor of the city! ſo that the public peace was not in the leaſt interrupted.

The French advanced guard firſt appeared before Vienna on the 11th, the next day the main body arrived, and were lodged in the ſuburbs, where their enemies acknowledged they conducted themſelves in an orderly and quiet manner; but they did not enter the city till the 13th, when they found it totally evacuated by the military, and the inhabitants mounting guard.

Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, marched through the city without halting, and paſſed the bridge over the Danube without reſiſtance. There was, indeed, a corps of Auſtrians ſtationed, under Prince Auerſperg, at the bridge, for the purpoſe of deſtroying it in caſe of neceſſity, and their preparations were made for ſo doing. Murat, aware of this circumſtance, rode up in full ſpeed to this officer, aſſured him, on his word of honour, that an armiſtice had been concluded; and, by this artifice, he prevailed upon his credulity ſo far as to prevent the deſtruction of the bridge, which might have conſiderably retarded the advance of the French army into Moravia.

On the 14th the diviſions of Marſhal Soult and Davouſt paſſed the river, treading in the footſteps of Murat; part of the latter corps, however, was detached down the Danube towards Preſburgh, in

Hungary. On this day, likewiſe, Buonaparté made his entry into Vienna, and he employed a great portion of the enſuing night in viſiting his outpoſts beyond the Danube. Buonaparté then retired to the imperial palace of Shoenbrun, which he had choſen for his reſidence.

The French found at Vienna an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, of all kinds, ammunition in great abundance, and a vaſt number of pieces of artillery, of various ſorts. The number of muſkets found in the arſenal was, likewiſe, very conſiderable, 15,000 of which Buonaparté preſented to the Elector of Bavaria; and he, likewiſe, cauſed to be reſtored to that Prince the artillery taken on former occaſions from the Electorate; great requiſitions of cloth and wine were alſo made for the ſupply of the army. On this day Buonaparté received a deputation of the citizens, and told them, that they might aſſure the people of Vienna of his protection.

On the 15th, Buonaparté having appointed General Clarke governor of Upper and Lower Auſtria, paſſed through Vienna to join the army, which was now advancing into Moravia. The Ruſſians which had been driven back from Brannau to St. Polten, croſſed the Danube at Krems; on the 9th they were met, on the left bank of the river, by Mortier's corps, conſiſting of about 5,000 men; on the 10th, in the vicinity of Diernſtein, the Ruſſians were attacked, and forced to retire from Weiſkirchen to Stein.

The Ruſſians, in their turn, to the number of 20,000, attacked the French the next morning early. The French, notwithſtanding their ſuperior number, repulſed them, after repeated attempts. But the

Ruſſian General had calculated on another manœuvre; he had detached two columns, by a difficult paſs, to turn the enemy. This plan partly ſucceeded; Mortier was obliged to cut his way through the Ruſſian lines, which was accomplished with great difficulty and conſiderable loſs; beſides a great number of killed, wounded, and priſoners. In this affair General Mortier was ſeverely wounded. The loſs on the ſide of the Ruſſians was not unimportant, but none more to be regretted than the death of Lieutenant-general Smedt, an officer of great repute in the Auſtrian ſervice, acting as Quarter-maſter-general to the Ruſſian army; he was alſo much in the confidence of the Archduke Charles. The Ruſſians, after this laſt affair, fell back upon Brunn, to wait for reinforcements, under General Buxhovoden; but, as the following particulars of this moſt extraordinary action was written by a French officer of rank at Vienna, who was with the army, they are entitled to a proportionate degree of credit.

"Buonaparté, "he obſerves,' having made 60,000 priſoners, marched againſt Vienna; the detachment of Kienmayer fled to Hungary, where the Empreſs and her children took refuge; the Ruſſians paſſed the Danube at Lintz and at Krems, and cut down the bridges; they took the road to Moravia. Francis II. was with them, as well as his brothers; they were witneſſes of the devaſtations committed by their Allies, in a country which they were come to defend. Buonaparté ſent three diviſions to the left of the Danube, in boats, to purſue the Ruſſians; who, knowing our inferiority, faced about againſt the diviſion of Matier, only 5,000 ſtrong, which had overtaken them at Stein. It was ſurrounded by 30

battalions; they must surrender at discretion to a ferocious enemy, or devote themselves to glory: they form into a close mass, and open themselves a passage, sword in hand, over the bodies of their enemies, who left 4,000 men on the field of battle, among whom was General Smeit. That day decided the question between the French and Russian infantry; for seven hours the artillery mowed down columns, and whole ranks fell under the bayonets of the combatants, who refused quarter on both sides: we had, towards noon, forced back a Russian battalion to the Danube; we pushed them so close, that the enemy threw themselves on their knees, in the water, crying "*Prisoners!*" We left off killing—the Russians then resumed their arms, fell upon us with frightful cries of "*Houra! houra!*" (kill) and forced us at several points; they were massacred by a reserve, very dexterously left behind by the General.

"Towards night, for want of cartridges, they fought with stones—in many places the battle became individual; some French soldiers, being closely pressed, threw themselves into the houses of a small village on the field of battle, and there intrenched themselves; the enemy set fire to the village, and many brave fellows perished in the flames. If our loss was only 2,000 men, we owe it to our superiority in the art of positions; and, particularly, the principle of sustaining the most rude shocks by corps of reserve, without which you can never make good retreats; and if you are victorious, you may lose all in a minute, because the shocks throw the conquerors, as well as the vanquished, into disorder, of which he who has a fresh corps profits."

After this the French army continued to advance so rapidly, that the Emperor of Austria, and his Court, determined to remove from Brunn to Olmutz. But, previous to his departure on the 13th, he thought proper to try the effect of another Proclamation. In this he told his unhappy people, that the demands of the French Emperor being inadmissible, and having refused an armistice, nothing remained for him to do but to trust to resources, to be found in the fidelity and strength of his people, united to the *undiminished* forces of his high *allies*, the Emperor of Russia, and the *King of Prussia*; and to persist in his determination until the French Emperor should consent to conditions consistent with the honour and independence of a great state.

By the evening of the 14th so many Austrian corps had been routed, at different points, that it was observed, almost all the Austrian artillery was in the hands of the enemy. By this time, also, Marshal Bernadotte having made a circuit to the right by Saltzburg, and the confines of Hungary, passed the Danube to join the main army.

On the 15th, Murat and Lannes, came up with the Russian army at Holbrunn. The French cavalry charged them, who abandoned their ground, leaving some of their baggage behind. The Russian general finding himself hard pressed, and desirous to gain a little time, had recourse to a device, in which he was authorised by the stratagem used by the French in passing the bridge at Vienna. A flag of truce presented himself at the French advanced posts, and the Baron Winzingerode, *aid-de-camp* to the Emperor of Russia, demanded leave for the

Ruſſian army to capitulate, and ſeparate from the Auſtrians. This appeared too ſpecious not to be liſtened to; and Murat, who was himſelf the author of the above-mentioned deception, communicated the information to Buonaparté. It ſoon became ſuſpected, and Buonaparté refuſed to agree to the propoſed terms, on the grounds that the Ruſſian was not duly authoriſed to treat: but he declared that if the Emperor of Ruſſia would ratify the Convention, he would likewiſe do it. Hereupon the French army advanced.

The Ruſſians, during this parley, were making their preparations to retreat, and had made ſome progreſs in it, when they were attacked the next day near Gunterſdorff. The loſs on both ſides was conſiderable, but the Ruſſians left behind them 2,000 priſoners, and had nearly as many killed and wounded: they alſo left behind them 12 pieces of cannon, and as many baggage waggons. Among the wounded French officers were General Oudinot and his two *aid-de-camps*. On the 17th the French head-quarters were at Znaim, where they found the ſick of the Ruſſian army abandoned to their fate. On the 18th General Sebaſtiani ſucceeded in cutting off a part of the Ruſſian rear-guard, and made nearly 2,000 priſoners; and, on the ſame day, Prince Murat entered Brunn, a regular fortreſs, capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions.

On the 20th Buonaparté removed to Brunn, and received a deputation from the ſtates of Moravia, with the Biſhop at their head. He cauſed the citadel to be taken poſſeſſion of, in which were found 6,000 ſtand of arms, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition.

The next advance of the French was from Brunn to Olmutz.—On the road, the Ruſſians again attempted to ſtop them, having collected all their cavalry, to the number of 6,000. The French cavalry attacking them, though they maintained their ground the whole day, they gave way at night.

Brunn being put into a better ſtate of defence, the French army did not move for ſome days: they then advanced and took a poſition near Wiſhau, in face of the Allied Army, who were poſted between that place and Olmutz, on the ſpot that gave birth to their ever memorable defeat in the battle of Auſterlitz, to which we ſhall proceed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

Some Movements immediately preceding the Battle of Auſterlitz.—Striking Confirmation of the Veracity of the French Bulletins by General Lord Hutchinſon.—Account of the Affair of Auſterlitz from the Moniteur.—The Orders of the Day, Proclamations, &c. &c.—The Conſequences of this Victory, and Conjectures on the future Deſigns of the French Emperor.

MARSHAL Davouſt, upon the capture of Vienna, had marched to Preſburgh, and attempted a negotiation with the Archduke Palatine for the neutrality of Hungary, but it came to nothing; Davouſt, therefore, proceeded to join the main army. The armies of France, and thoſe of the Allies, are ſaid to have been nearly equal in point of number; but the latter, it is owned, were flushed with victory, and out of all meaſure ſuperior to their opponents in military ſkill, confidence, and diſcipline. "The French," ſay the Allies, had 105,000 men." Theſe two armies being in preſence, both were determined to make a ſtand; when, on the 29th of November, the Auſtrian Counts, Stadion and Giulay, were commiſſioned, on the part of the Emperor of Germany, to open a negotiation; and, at the ſame time, the Pruſſian miniſter, Count Haugwitz, came to offer his ſovereign's mediation, who, it was ſuppoſed, was then ſtrongly inclined to take a part in the war againſt France. Napoleon ſeemed to liſten to the propoſition; but the event ſeemed to indicate that it was only with the view of putting the Allies off their guard. On the evening of the 28th, it ſeems that ſome of the French

advanced posts had been attacked by the Russians, near Wishau, and forced to fall back: however, Buonaparté hearing that the Emperor Alexander had advanced to that place, followed by the main body of his army, dispatched General Savary, one of his *aids-de-camp*, avowedly to compliment that sovereign; but these particulars, as well as those of the ensuing battle, will be best learned from the French bulletins; authorities no English historian, who aims at impartiality, need be ashamed of quoting; since the particulars of the loss of the Russians in their last battle at Friedland, as stated in the French bulletins and newspapers, were confirmed, even to a unit, by General Lord Hutchinson, when he, recently, stated, in the House of Lords, that "the Russians were generally unsuccessful; that they never obtained a victory; that the victory of Eglau was no victory to them: that, in fact, the Russians were inferior to the French in every thing but courage; that there never was a general in the world equal to Buonaparté for military movements; and, that in the last battle of Friedland, and in the course of ten days before it, the Russians lost 40,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, 1,800 officers, and 27 generals! These, it is to be observed, were the exact numbers stated in the French bulletins; and as their authority has been thus acknowledged on a *latter* occasion, their credit cannot be more questionable on the *former*. Their account of the memorable battle of Austerlitz, and some important particulars, that preceded and followed that remarkable event, were thus stated:

THIRTIETH BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Austerlitz, December 3.

"On the 27th of November, the Emperor, upon

receiving the communication of the full powers of M. M. Stadion, and De Guilay, offered, previouſly, an armiſtice, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, if any real intention were entertained of coming to an arrangement and a definitive accommodation.—But it was eaſy for the Emperor to perceive that they had other projects; and as the hope of ſucceſs could only be derived from the ſide of the Ruſſian army, he eaſily conjectured that the ſecond and third armies were arrived, or were on the point of arriving, at Olmutz; and that the negotiations were only a *ruſe-de-guerre*, to lull his vigilance to ſleep. On the 28th, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Coſſacs, ſupported by Ruſſian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced poſts fall back, ſurrounded Wiſhau, and took 50 of the ſixth regiment of dragoons. In the courſe of the day, the Emperor of Ruſſia repaired to Wiſhau, and the whole Ruſſian army took up a poſition behind that city. The Emperor ſent his *aid-de-camp*, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Ruſſia, as ſoon as he knew of the arrival of that Prince in the army. General Savary returned at the moment the Emperor was reconnoitring the fires of the enemy's outpoſts at Wiſhau. He ſpoke in warm terms of commendation of the handſome reception, the favours, and the perſonal ſentiments of the Emperor of Ruſſia, and even of the Grand Duke Conſtantine, who ſhewed him every attention: but it was eaſy to underſtand, from the converſation he had, for three days, with ſome thirty coxcombs, who, under different titles, are about the Emperor of Ruſſia, that preſumption, inconſiderateneſs, and imprudence, reigned in the deciſions of the military cabinets as much as they had reigned in thoſe

Constantine
Grand Duke

of the political cabinets. An army so conducted could not but commit faults—the Emperor's plan was, from that moment, to wait for them, and to watch the moment for profiting by them.—He immediately ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had been defeated, took a good position, three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation in fortifying it and raising batteries.

"He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his *aid-de-camp*, Prince Dolgorucki; that officer might remark that every thing breathed reserve and fear in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, the fortifications made with such haste, every thing shewed to the Russian officer an army half beaten.—Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who never receives with so much circumspection the flags of truce at his head quarters, he went himself to the advanced posts. The Russian discussed every thing with an impertinence difficult to be conceived; he was in the most perfect ignorance of the interests of Europe, and of the situation of the continent. In a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to the Emperor as he speaks to the Russian officers, whom he has long disgusted by his haughtiness and improper conduct. The Emperor repressed his own indignation; and the Young Man, who has a real influence over the Emperor Alexander, returned with a conviction that the French army was on the eve of ruin. One may be convinced, above all, of what the Emperor must have suffered, when it is known, that, towards the close of the conversation, he proposed to him to cede Belgium, and to place the Iron Crown upon the head of the most implacable enemies of

France! All these different steps were attended with their due effect. The young heads, that direct the Russian affairs, gave themselves up, without measure, to their natural presumption. It was no longer whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken—it had only done so much through the cowardice of the Austrians. We are assured, that several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the Emperor, warned the Council, that it was not with that confidence that one ought to march against old soldiers and officers of the first merit. They said, they had seen the Emperor, reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy the most numerous armies: that here no advantage had been obtained; that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the rear-guard of the first Russian army had been in favour of the French army: but to that, the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their Emperor, the picked corps of the Imperial Guard of Russia; and, what, probably, they dared not say, their talents, of which they were astonished the Austrians would not acknowledge the power.

"On the 1st December, the Emperor, from the heights, saw, with indescribable joy, the Russian army beginning, within twice the distance of cannon shot from his advanced posts, a flank movement, to turn his right. He perceived then to what a pitch presumption and ignorance of the art of war had misled the councils of that brave army. He said, several times, "Before to-morrow night that army shall be

in my power.' Yet the enemy's idea was far different; they appeared before our posts within pistol shot; they defiled by a flank march upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed not to dare to quit its position, they had but one fear, that the French army should escape. Every thing was done to confirm the enemy in this idea. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but, all at once, it seemed astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste. Hence, every thing tended to confirm the Russian general in the miscalculated operation which he had determined upon. The Emperor put the annexed Proclamation in the order of the day. At night he wished to visit on foot, and, *incognito*, all the posts; but he had not gone many steps when he was recognised. It would be impossible to depict the enthusiasm of the soldiers upon seeing him. Lighted straw was placed, in an instant, upon the tops of thousands of poles, and 80,000 men appeared before the Emperor, saluting him with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his Coronation; others saying, that the army would, to-morrow, offer its *bouquet* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, 'Sire! you need not expose yourself—I promise you, in the name of the Grenadiers of the army, that you shall only have to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you, to-morrow, the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the Anniversary of your Coronation.' The Emperor said, upon his return to his guard-house, which consisted of a miserable straw cabin, without a roof, which the gre-

nadiers had made for him, 'This is the fineſt evening of my life; but I regret to think that I ſhall loſe a good number of theſe brave fellows.—I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are, indeed, my children; and I often reproach myſelf for this ſentiment, for I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on war.' If the enemy had ſeen the fight, it would have terrified them—but the unthinking enemy continued their movements, and haſtened, with quick ſteps, to their ruin.

"The Emperor made his diſpoſitions for battle immediately. He ſent off Marſhal Davouſt, in great haſte, to the convent of Raygern He was, with one of his diviſions and a diviſion of dragoons, to keep in check the enemy's left wing, in order that, upon a given ſignal, it might be quite ſurrounded. He gave to Marſhal Lannes the command of the left wing; to Marſhal Soult the command of the right; and to Marſhal Bernadotte the command of the centre. Prince Murat received the command of the cavalry, with which he was poſted on one point. The left of Marſhal Lannes approached Santon, a ſuperb poſition, which had been fortified and mounted with 18 pieces of cannon. From the preceding evening he had entruſted the keeping of the firm poſition to the 17th light infantry, and certainly it could not be guarded by better troops. General Suchet's diviſion formed the left of Marſhal Lannes; the diviſion of General Caferelli formed his right, and was ſupported at the ſame time by Prince Murat's cavalry. The latter had before it the huſſars and chaſſeurs, under General Thellemont, and the dragoon diviſions of Walther and Beaumont, and in reſerve, the cuiraſſier diviſions of Generals

Nanſouty and Hautpoult, with 24 pieces of light artillery. Marſhal Bernadotte (that is to ſay, the centre) had on the left the diviſion of General Rivaud, which alſo communicated with Prince Murat's right wing, and on the right the diviſion of General Drouet. Marſhal Soult, who commanded the right wing of the army, had on his left the diviſion of General Vandamme, in his centre the diviſion of General St. Hilaire, and on his right the diviſion of General Legrand. Marſhal Davouſt was detached to the right of General Legrand, to obſerve the road between the lakes and the villages of Sokolnitz and Celnitz. He had with him General Friant's diviſion and the dragoons of General Boucher's diviſion. The diviſion of General Gudin was directed to march, at day-break, from Nicolſburg, to ſtop the corps of the enemy, which might have outflanked the right wing.

"The Emperor, with his faithful companion in war, Marſhal Berthier; his firſt *aid-de-camp*, Colonel Junot, and all his *etat-majors*, was in reſerve, with the ten battalions of his guard and the ten battalions of General Oudinot's grenadiers, part of whom were commanded by General Duroc. This reſerve was ranged in two lines, in columns, by battalions, deployed at a diſtance, having in the intervals 40 pieces, ſerved by the cannoneers of the guard. It was with this reſerve that the Emperor intended to puſh forward wherever it would have been neceſſary: we may ſay this reſerve was worth an army. At one in the morning the Emperor got on horſeback to viſit the poſts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learnt of the movements of the Ruſſians—He heard,

that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it. Day dawned, at length, on the 2d—the sun rose bright; and the Anniversary of the Coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, was one of the finest days of autumn. The battle, which the soldiers persist in calling 'The Day of the Three Emperors;' which others call 'The Day of the Anniversary;' and which the Emperor named 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' will be ever memorable in the annals of the Great Nation. The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments, 'Soldiers! we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and, instantly, hats were placed on the points of bayonets, and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' were the signal for battle.—A moment afterwards the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the enemy short, and the battle began.—Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with General Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain: surprised by a flank march whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking,

and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry: the left wing, also, under the command of General Lasnes, marched forward also, *en eschelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line; 200 pieces of cannon, and near 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise; it was a real combat of giants! Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off! their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors; who marched, immediately, the Emperor of Russia's guard, to endeavour to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and routed; but the Emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right with his Invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged: success could not be doubtful; in a moment the Russian guard was routed; colonel, artillery, standards, every thing, was taken! the regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated! he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse! From the heights of Austerlitz the Two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard! At the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry; the left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, made several: all the charges were victorious; General Caffarelli's division distinguished itself; the cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries: at one point the victory

was decided—it had not been doubtful for a moment: not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted nowhere! a cannonnade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The Emperor hastened thither with 20 pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position; and we saw the horrid spectacle (such as was seen at Aboukir) of 20,000 men throwing themselves into the water and drowning themselves in the lake! Two columns of Russians (4,000 each) laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners: all the enemy's park of artillery is taken! The result of this day is 40 Russian standards, amongst which are the standards of the Imperial Guard; a considerable number of prisoners, the *Etat major* does not yet know how many: we have, already, an account of 20 or 30,000; 12 or 15 generals; at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle! Though we have not yet the report, we may, at the first *coup-d'œil*, estimate our loss at 800 killed and 1,500 or 1,600 wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a rout that men are lost, and no other corps but the battalion of the 4th was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, though disabled in the beginning, remained the whole day on the field of battle! he covered himself with glory; Generals of divisions, Kellerman and Walther; Generals of brigade, Valhaber, Tiniebalt, Sebastiani, Compier, and Rapp, the Emperor's *aid-de-camp*: it was the latter, who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guards, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the Imperial Guard of Russia.

With reſpect to the men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves; it was the whole army that covered itſelf with glory; it conſtantly charged to the cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' and the idea of celebrating ſo glorioufly the Anniverſary of the Coronation animated the ſoldiers The French army, though fine and numerous, was leſs numerous than the enemy's army, which was 105,000 ſtrong, 80,000 Ruſſians and 25,000 Auſtrians.—The half of this army is deſtroyed, the reſt has been completely routed, and the greater part threw away their arms!

"This day will coſt tears of blood at Petersburgh! may it cauſe the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! and may that young Prince, whom ſo many virtues called to be the father of his ſubjects, tear himſelf from the influence of thoſe Thirty Coxcombs, whom England pays, and whoſe impertinence injures his intentions, makes him loſe the love of his ſoldiers, and hurries him into the moſt ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with ſo many great qualities, had made him to be the conſolation of Europe: perfidious counſels, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will place him, in hiſtory, in the rank of men, who, perpetuating the war upon the Continent, will have conſolidated the Britiſh tyranny upon the ſeas and produced the miſery of our generation. If France cannot arrive at peace but on the conditions propoſed by the *aid de camp*, Dolſucki, to the Emperor, and which M. Novoziltzof was ordered to make; Ruſſia ſhould not obtain them were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmatre: In the detailed relation of this battle the *Etat-major* will make known what each corps, officer, and ge-

neral, have done to render the French illuſtrious, and to afford proof of their love for the Emperor.

"On the 3d, at daybreak, Prince John of Lichſtenſtein, commanding the Auſtrian army, came to the Emperor's head-quarters, in a barn; he had a long audience, yet we purſued our ſucceſſes: the enemy have retired, by the road of Auſterlitz, to Goddin; the French army is already in their rear, and follows them ſword in hand. Never was there a more horrible field of battle; from the middle of the immenſe lakes we hear ſtill the cries of thouſands of men, who could not be aſſiſted! three days muſt elapſe ere all the wounded enemy are carried to Brunn; the heart bleeds for ſo much bloodſhed! May ſo many miſeries fall, at length, upon the perfidious Iſlanders, who are the cauſe of it! may the cowardly oligarchs of London bear the burthen of ſo many evils!"

THIRTY-FIRST BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Paris, December 17.

"The cannon, that fired yeſterday at one *P. M.*, announced great news. In the hope of hearing the 31ſt Bulletin read, we went to the theatre, and our hope was not diſappointed. The repreſentation of *Iphigenia in Aulis* had juſt begun, and the audience were applauding this alluſion:

'Mais qui peut dans ſa courſe arreter ce torrent,
Achille va combattre et triomphe en courant:'

when a civil officer appeared on the ſtage, and cauſed the actor, Lacave, to read the following:

"The day after the battle of Auſterlitz, otherwiſe called 'The Three Emperors,' his Majeſty went to his

ſtation at the advanced poſts, and received there the Emperor of Auſtria's viſit. The conference of the two Monarchs, was long and amicable. Francis II. looking at the wretched hut, in which Napoleon received him, could not avoid expreſſing ſome ſurpriſe. 'You ſee,' ſaid our Emperor, laughing, 'theſe are the palaces in which you have made me lay for two months.' 'You employ your time too well in in them,' replied the Auſtrian Monarch, 'to have cauſe to reproach me.' "The converſation having turned upon England, Francis II. teſtified his deepeſt indignation againſt the infamous policy of that power." 'They are vile Traders!' ſaid he, ſeveral times, 'who would ſet fire to the continent for the ſake of their trade; I renounce their alliance for ever!'

"That Prince, encouraged by the frank and open air of the French Monarch, having aſked that the Emperor of Ruſſia ſhould be included in the armiſtice. 'I will ſtate to you,' ſaid Napoleon, 'that his army is entirely ſurrounded, that, to morrow, perhaps, it will be in my power; and beſides, nothing guarantees to me the pacific intentions of that Prince.' 'His intentions are in conformity with my own,' replied Francis II. 'he ſhares my hatred and contempt for the Britiſh Government—in ſhort, he wiſhes to withdraw.'—'Well, ſince you are his guarantee, I deſire nothing better than to be agreeable to the Emperor Alexander. I will open a retreat for his army—but I will have him retire immediately—let him evacuate all the Auſtrian poſſeſſions—not only in Germany but in Poland: let him march back, by fixed marches, of which I will give

him the route—let no extraordinary levy be made in the ſtate of that Prince,' &c. &c.

"In conſequence of his generous diſpoſition, his Majeſty ſent his *aid-de-camp*, General Savary, to the head-quarters of the Ruſſian army. Introduced to the Emperor Alexander, he was received with the higheſt conſideration; the firſt words ſpoken to him by the Emperor Alexander were a tribute to the genius of Napoleon. 'Your Emperor has performed miracles—the day before yeſterday covers him with immortal glory.' Then, inquiring the details of the manœuvres of the grand army, Alexander added; 'You were inferior in numbers, and everywhere your attacks were ſucceſsful!' 'It was the fruit of experience,' replied the French General. 'His Majeſty has already fought thirty battles like thoſe of Auſterlitz.' 'And I,' replied the Ruſſian Monarch, 'this is the firſt in which I have been: I have never pretended to rival Buonaparté—he is a very great warrior, he is really predeſtinated by heaven.'

"When they came to the ſubject of the Meſſage, Alexander aſked, what the French Emperor required of him, and then, if his perſon was ſafe?—'Yes, Sire,' replied General Savary, 'your perſon is ſafe; though, at the moment I am ſpeaking, your army is already turned. If your Majeſty explains yourſelf frankly, I guarantee your retreat.'

"All the conditions of which we have ſpoken above, appear to have been conſented to by the Emperor of Ruſſia; who, as well as the Emperor of Auſtria, expreſſed himſelf well ſatisfied with the French Monarch.

"An armiſtice has thus been concluded between the three powers, and negotiations for peace will not be delayed. The French Emperor has delivered himſelf in a ſtrong manner upon this latter point; and, in order not to be deceived, he keeps, *proviſionally*, all he had taken, and is going to take; that is, almoſt all Upper and Lower Auſtria, a part of Bohemia, Carniola, the Tyrol, the ſtates of Venice," &c. &c.

"Cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the warmeſt plaudits burſt from all parts of the theatre as ſoon as this admirable news was read, and there was not one of the audience who did not think himſelf tranſported to the age of enchantment."

Still, as the hiſtory of this affair of Auſterlitz would be incomplete without the French Emperor's Order of the Day, before the battle, and the Two Proclamations, iſſued immediately after, they will here follow the Bulletins.

When theſe Proclamations reached this country, the threat, in the firſt, about "marching to Peterſburgh," was particularly ridiculed by the venal and ignorant makers of newſpapers: but in 1807, and after the loſs of the battle of Friedland, upon the Ruſſian frontier, it will, ſurely, be permitted us to doubt of the ſagacity and the integrity of thoſe guides.—Of courſe, the French orders of the day and proclamations deſerve to be read, not only as deſcriptions of the *paſt*, but as ſtriking pictures, only too fatal in delineating the *future*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

"SOLDIERS! On the Field, December 1.

"The Ruſſian army is before you, to avenge the Auſtrian army at Ulm: they are the ſame battalions you beat at Hollabrun, and which you have conſtantly purſued. The

positions we occupy are formidable, and, whilst they march to turn my right, they shall present me the flank.

"Soldiers! I shall direct myself all your battalions; I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but, if victory be, for a moment, doubtful, you shall see your Emperor expose himself to the first blow; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry (which is of so much importance to the whole nation) is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned, under pretext of carrying off the wounded; and let each be well persuaded, that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred of our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, and we shall resume our winter quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France: then the peace which I will make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me."

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

Head-quarters, Dec. 2, 10 o'clock at night.

"SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY!

"Even at this hour, before this great day shall pass away and be lost in the ocean of eternity, your Emperor must address you, and express how much he is satisfied with the conduct of all those who have had the good fortune to combat in this memorable battle. Soldiers! you are the first warriors in the world! The recollection of this day, and of your deeds, will be eternal! thousands of ages hereafter, so long as the events of the universe continue to be related, will it be told, that a Russian army, of seventy-six thousand men, hired by the gold of England, was annihilated by you on the plains of Olmutz.—The miserable remains of that army, upon which the commercial spirit of a despicable nation had placed its last hope, are in flight, and hasten to make known to the savage inhabitants of the North what the French are capable of performing; they

will, likewiſe, tell them, that, after having deſtroyed the Auſtrian army at Ulm, you ſaid to Vienna, 'That army is no more!' To Petersburgh you ſhall alſo ſay, 'The Emperor Alexander has no longer an army!'

"Soldiers of the Grand Army! four months have not elapſed ſince your Emperor ſpoke thus to you at Boulogne: 'We march to diſſolve a Coalition formed by the gold and intrigues of England; and the reſult has been, the overthrow of three hundred thouſand ſoldiers and of two great monarchies! Soldiers! you are worthy of immortality! What will your relatives, what will every Frenchman ſay? they can never ceaſe to contemplate you with emotions of affection and admiration.—And, when your work is completed; when you return to your own fireſides, your families, all France, will exclaim, 'Theſe are our Brethren, the Herocs of Olmutz! who, out of an army of ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, made ten thouſand priſoners, took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and left twenty-ſix thouſand men dead on the field!'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Not ſatisfied with this alone, the Emperor, the next day, iſſued the following

PROCLAMATION.

"SOLDIERS! Head-quarters, Auſterlitz, Dec. 3.

"I am ſatisfied with you! in the battle of Auſterlitz you have juſtified what I expected from your intrepidity! you have covered yourſelves with eternal glory! An army of one hundred thouſand men, which was commanded by the Emperors of Ruſſia and Auſtria, has been, in leſs than four hours, either cut off or diſperſed! what eſcaped your ſwords have thrown themſelves into the lakes! Forty ſtand of colours, the ſtandards of the Ruſſian Imperial Guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above thirty thouſand priſoners, are the fruits of this

ever memorable battle! That infantry, so celebrated, and superior to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge; and, henceforth, you have no rivals to fear! Thus, in less than two months, the Third Coalition is conquered and dissolved!—Peace cannot be at a great distance: but, as I promised to my people, before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward of my Allies.

"Soldiers! when the French People placed the Imperial Crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendor of glory which alone could give it value in my estimation; but, at that moment, our enemies entertained the design to tarnish and degrade it; and the Iron Crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe! an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to nought on the Anniversary of your Emperor's Coronation! You have taught them, that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten than to subdue us.

"Soldiers! when every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and prosperity of our country has been achieved, will I return you my thanks in France; then will you be the objects of my tendercst care.—My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, 'I was in the battle of Austerlitz!' will be enough to authorise the reply, 'That is a brave man!'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The battle of Austerlitz was so decisive in its effects, that nothing more, of importance, could possibly follow: however, reports, in London, upon very high authority, after an account of the same had been received, continued to amuse and cheer the public mind with another battle, on the succeeding day, in which the Russians, and their Emperor,

performed prodigies of valour, recovering their cannon, and obtaining the moſt complete ſucceſs: theſe, however, had but a tranſitory exiſtence. Truth, which is the child of Time, came, at length, and would have put theſe impudent falſehoods to the bluſh, had the propagators of them been ſuſceptible of honour or ſhame.—To the diſcerning few, nothing appeared, on the part of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians, but proſpects of defeat and diſgrace. It is true, that a trifling affair took place on the 3d of December: Prince Bagration was attacked in the neighbourhood of Urtſchutz, from whence he retired, in the evening, towards Czeitſch.

On the 4th the Allied Army made a retrograde movement, croſſing the river March to Hollitſch; but the Emperor of Germany remained at Czeitſch. Prince John of Lichtenſtein had been ſent, on the 2d, to the French Emperor, to propoſe, or, rather, to ſolicit, an armiſtice; and it was then agreed, that a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhould take place, and commence on the 4th inſtant at daybreak. The Prince arrived at head quarters the evening before, but it appears that the French army was not apprized of this tranſaction in ſufficient time to prevent the hoſtile movements made on the 4th. In conſequence of this agreement, an interview between the Emperors of Germany and France took place in the open air, at a ſmall diſtance from the village of Naſedlowitz, near a mill by the road-ſide. The conference laſted a conſiderable time, when the Emperor Francis returned to Czeitſch in the evening, and immediately diſpatched an Auſtrian general to communicate the reſult of the conference to the Emperor Alexander; and General Savary was ap-

pointed by the Emperor Napoleon, to attend the Auſtrian general to the Ruſſian head-quarters. The Emperor of Ruſſia is ſaid to have received them with politeneſs; and, at the ſame time, though he did not formally concur in the armiſtice, he made no poſitive objection to it. The reſult of the engagements then entered into, authoriſed the French army to remain in poſſeſſion of its conqueſts; viz.: part of Moravia and Hungary; all Upper and Lower Auſtria; the Tyrol; the States of Vienna; Carinthia; Styria, and Carniola; the country of Goritz and Iſtria. In Bohemia they were to retain the Circle of Montabar, with the whole ſpace to the Eaſtward from Tabor to Lintz; and to hold this immenſe tract until the concluſion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in which caſe it was alſo ſtipulated, that hoſtilities ſhould not re-commence within fourteen days, and then, that the ceſſation of the armiſtice ſhould be announced to the plenipotentiaries at the head of their reſpective armies. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the Ruſſian army ſhould evacuate the Auſtrian ſtates, Moravia, and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Gallicia within a month; the routes to be preſcribed to the Ruſſian army; that there ſhould be no levy or inſurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary raiſing of troops in Bohemia; nor that any foreign army ſhould be permitted to enter the territory of the Houſe of Auſtria; and, finally, it was conditioned, that negotiators from both powers ſhould meet at Nicolſburg, to negotiate a treaty, in order to effect, without delay, the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the Two Emperors. This agreement between the French and Auſtrians made it neceſſary for the Ruſſian

army to commence its retreat, under very diſtreſſing circumſtances, on the 6th of December; at a time when the Engliſh Capital was made to reſound with the praiſes of the Ruſſian valour, and the not leſs heroic deeds of their magnanimous Emperor: while the French were repreſented as defeated, diſcouraged, and even in doubt of being able to return home to France!

But, though the Allies had ſuffered ſo ſignal a defeat on the 2d of December, the corps of 20,000 men, under the Archduke Ferdinand, was ſtill left entire in Bohemia; and, before intelligence could reach him of the concluſion of the armiſtice, he had attacked a corps of Bavarians, under General Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. Much about the ſame time the Archduke Charles made his appearance, from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with his army on the right bank of the Danube: this made it appear, for a ſhort time, that, if the Emperor Francis had not been ſo precipitate in concluding a treaty with the French, the fortune of war might have taken a favourable turn: it was even ſaid, that the Archduke Charles was mortified in the higheſt degree when he firſt heard of the treaty: but it was not taken into the account, that the Archduke himſelf, unable to make head againſt Maſena in Italy, was then, in a meaſure, on his flight, with another victorious army almoſt at his heels!

Among the conſequences of this extraordinary campaign this one was generally acknowledged; viz. "that it had eſtabliſhed the predominancy of France upon the Continent; and that the battle of Auſterlitz; or, as it had been more familiarly denominated,

The Battle of the Three Emperors,' had in its iſſue confounded all ſpeculation." It was admitted a moſt alarming retroſpect, to contemplate the aggrandizement of the French nation within a few ſhort years; every period of its higheſt exultation, in former times, faded in the compariſon! The dominion of Charlemagne carried within it the ſeeds of its own diſſolution; and a ſuperior character to Louis the Fourteenth ſet limits to the ambition and empire of the latter: but no talents, no power, no combination, in oppoſition to Buonaparté, it was obſerved, ſeemed calculated to check his progreſs, but, on the contrary, ſerved, in their effect, to ſwell his career with freſh victories and add to his ſtrength by increaſing conqueſts: he, who, by wiſdom in council, greatneſs o enterpriſe, and promptneſs in action, put it almoſt out of the courſe of things that he ſhould ever meet with a reverſe of fortune!

But with reſpect to his future views, which, at the period we are deſcribing, firſt tranſpired; it is highly worthy of obſervation, though conceived anterior to 1805, they are moſt likely to be realized, at leaſt in a great meaſure, in 1808. A letter, at that time, written by a French Officer, who was at Vienna, after tracing ſome of the maſterly movements of Buonaparté, and deſcanting upon the ſuperiority of their effects beyond any tactics of former times, concluded his epiſtle in the form of a wiſh, and with that degree of freedom which could only be tolerated, under the French ſyſtem, in thoſe who were in the ſecret, or who had good authority for making ſuch ſentiments public:

"I wiſh" ſays this Officer, "to ſee Auſtria loſe the Tyrol and Salzbourg in favour of Bavaria, which

ſhould be erected into a kingdom; the title of Emperor of Germany ſuppreſſed; Napoleon made Emperor of the Weſt; a new kingdom formed of Turkey in Europe; and the French, Spaniards, Germans, Italians, and Greeks, united under one chief, to prevent the Scythians from ever paſſing the Dardanelles and traverſing Poland: this Chief of the Weſt ſhall be maſter of the commerce of the Eaſt, and ſhall, when he chooſes, make a journey to the Ganges."

It may be only neceſſary to obſerve now, that the firſt of theſe wiſhes was very ſoon realized; that ſubſequent ſucceſſes ſeem to have paved the way for the reſt; and that, with reſpect to making a journey to the Ganges, and the diſmemberment of Turkey in Europe, they are, at preſent, the avowed meaſures of the French journals; in which, upon the ſubject of politics, it is not the printer or editor of the paper, but the Government, which always ſpeaks.

CHAPTER XVI.

Italy evacuated by the Archduke Charles.—The King of Pruſſia's Duplicity of Conduct towards the Allies.—The Emperor Alexander's Viſit to Berlin.—Expedition of the Engliſh and Swedes to recover Hanover.—Fails, in Conſequence of Delay.—Return of the Troops.—Sweden threatened by Pruſſia.—Engliſh and Ruſſians land in the Kingdom of Naples.—The French Miniſter leaves that City.—Death of Captain Wright in the Temple at Paris. Naval Affairs—Nelſon's Victory.—The Wife of Jerome Buonaparté leaves England.—Peace between Auſtria and France ſigned at Preſburg.—Occupation of Hanover by the Pruſſians, &c. &c.

AS it was the intention of the Archduke to make good his retreat to Germany; upon his arrival at Baſſano he had the option, either of proceeding by way of Trent into the Tyrol, or by Treviſo, through Carinthia or Carniola. The diſpoſition of the French in Germany ſeems to have induced him to adopt the latter: in his progreſs towards Vienna by the former route he would have had to oppoſe the corps of General Marmont and Marſhal Bernadotte; whilſt Ney was in force, on the confines of the Tyrol, on one ſide and Augereau on the other; and a ſuperior force, under Maſſena, was cloſe upon his rear. In this dilemma, he determined upon proceeding to Hungary, though continually galled by the enemy's light troops.

The French advanced guard arrived at the Brenta immediately after the Auſtrians had paſſed that river and were endeavouring to deſtroy the bridge: here a cannonade commenced, which prevented the French from croſſing till the next morning; however, the

oppoſition they met with all the way to Laybach and Carinthia was too inſignificant to notice: but the Tyrol being completely evacuated by the Archduke John, the corps under Marſhal Ney and General Marmont had approached the Danube, to ſupport the main body of the French army, when the ſucceſſes of the Emperor Napoleon put a period to any further ſtruggle. After Bavaria had joined the French intereſt it was not ſurpriſing to ſee the Elector of Wirtemberg follow the example; for this the proximity of his territory to that of France was a very cogent apology: from Pruſſia, however, ſomething might have been hoped; and much, it is ſaid, might have been attained in the common cauſe, had her policy in 1805 been otherwiſe than narrow, crooked, and even deceptive. From the time of her firſt ſeparation from the Confederacy againſt Republican France, ſhe had maintained a cautious, ſelfiſh, but ſtrict neutrality: all through the enſuing wars ſhe viewed the ſtraits to which her rival, Auſtria, was reduced, with pleaſure; for the promiſe which ſuch an event as the lowering of that power held forth, and thereby affording Pruſſia a predominancy in the Germanic Body, was too great a temptation to ſuffer her to deviate from the line of conduct ſhe had adopted: hence it was, that the united efforts of the miniſters of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and England, at the Court of Berlin, could, ultimately, effect no more upon that government, than to induce it to put their troops upon the war eſtabliſhment, fill their magazines, and furniſh the different corps with camp equipage; or, rather, to adopt a kind of armed neutrality. At length, the Emperor Alexander made an effort, in perſon, to prevail upon the King of Pruſſia to adopt a more generous and decisive part: he arrived at Berlin; but,

though he was received there with every demonſtration of perſonal eſteem, and that ſplendor due to his exalted character, he was obliged to return, baffled and diſappointed, to place himſelf at the head of his armies, then advancing in aid of Auſtria. But the conduct of Pruſſia was reprehenſible in another reſpect; the example he ſhewed to the Electors of Heſſe and Saxony, the Duke of Brunſwic, and other princes in the North of Germany, was prejudicial in the extreme. Very different was that of Sweden: a conſiderable body of Swedes, from Pomerania, had abſolutely marched to the banks of the Elbe, and continued ſeveral months occupying the Dutchy of Lunenburg, &c. waiting to be joined by a large body of Engliſh troops and the German Legion; with which it was intended to effect the liberation of the King of England's German dominions from the French yoke, which had ſo long and ſo ſeverely preſſed upon them: afterwards, they were to have acted as opportunity and occaſion required. This operation, which was perfectly practicable, promiſed very fairly to be attended with the happieſt conſequences, had it not been protracted till the moment when it would have been entirely uſeleſs. Had the Confederates, to the amount of 60,000 men, commanded by the King of Sweden, been in Hanover at an early ſtage of the war, Bernadotte would have found ample employment for his troops in that quarter, inſtead of marching to the Danube, and very conſiderably contributing to the ſucceſſes of the French over General Mack. But with reſpect to the North of Germany; notwithſtanding the opening of the campaign, and its period, were entirely optional with the Allied Powers, it was not till near the middle of November, when Vienna was in the hands of the French, and the fate

of the war decided in that quarter, that the troops deſtined to act in Hanover were aſſembled, and then ſcarcely in ſufficient force to beſiege Hameln, where Bernadotte had left a ſtrong garriſon. The victory of Auſterlitz, at length, put an end to this ſtate of irreſolute warfare: the Swedes were marched back to Pomerania; and the Engliſh and the German troops that were with them haſtily embarked upon the Elbe, to return to England, leaving Hanover, once more, in the hands of the enemy! But even the efforts of Sweden were crippled by the authoritative influence of Pruſſia: the King had openly defied the power of Buonaparté, through his miniſter, at the Diet of Ratiſbon: the better to ſecond his efforts, during the year 1805, Great Britain had negotiated with him for a ſubſidy; according to which ſixty thouſand pounds were to be immediately advanced, upon condition that a *dépôt* of Hanoverian troops ſhould be formed in Swediſh Pomerania; the defences of Stralſund improved; and, in caſe that hoſtilities ſhould be formally commenced againſt France, the Swediſh troops ſhould be taken into the pay of Great Britain, at a fixed rate.

The wakeful jealouſy of Buonaparté, it was obſerved, ſoon ſaw through theſe meaſures; and he, conſequently, applied to the Court of Berlin (which plumed itſelf on being thought to be the protector of the North of Germany) to prevent the occupation of Pomerania by the Hanoverians. This application produced a ſtrong Note from Pruſſia to the King of Sweden, expreſſive of a determination not to ſuffer Swediſh Pomerania to become either the ſcene of preparation or the actual theatre of war: and, that ſhould the King of Sweden actually

commence hoſtilities againſt France, the King of Pruſſia muſt be compelled, though reluctantly, "to take the moſt deciſive meaſures with reſpect to that province, in order to guard againſt the diſturbance of the ſyſtem of enſuring the tranquillity of the North, which he had adopted and purſued for ſuch a length of time." To this Remonſtrance the King of Sweden gave an immediate reply, couched in terms of ſtrong and deep indignation, and avowing his reſolution to proceed in that conduct he had laid down for himſelf, without further reference to the will or dictation of any power whatever. About the ſame time of the year, however, another diviſion of the Britiſh force, which had joined the Ruſſians in the Mediterranean, landed in the kingdom of Naples; where there being no enemy to oppoſe them, they lay inactive the remainder of the campaign, without being in the leaſt degree ſerviceable to the common cauſe, and expoſing the King of Naples, one of the oldeſt and moſt faithful Allies, to the ſubſequent loſs of his continental dominions.

But, whenever any power has been guilty of perfidy and bad faith towards the French Government, inſtead of admitting it as a crime, we applaud it as a virtuous action: this was now the caſe with the King of Naples. It was only in the month of September that he had concluded a treaty of neutrality with the French Emperor, in conſequence of which he actually withdrew the French troops ſtationed in that country, and made them join his armies in the North of Italy: this ſtep the French Emperor never forgave. It is true, that, when the Engliſh and Ruſſians firſt arrived upon the Neapolitan coaſts

the King of Naples publiſhed a long manifeſto, inſiſting upon his fidelity to the principles of neutrality agreed upon between him and France, and his utter inability to reſiſt the occupation of his country by the Allies; but the French miniſter at Naples did not give the ſlighteſt degree of credit to theſe aſſertions, as he quitted that city in the higheſt reſentment at the conduct of the King, whom he juſtly charged with duplicity and treachery, and whom he alſo threatened with the whole weight of his Maſter's reſentment: a menace, which, like others from that quarter, was but too fatally carried into execution; of which more will be found in its proper place.

Another circumſtance, of no ſmall notoriety tranſpired in the month of November. The French papers, of the 29th of October, ſtated, that Captain Wright, who had been made priſoner the year before, on the coaſt of Brittany, being confined in the Temple, had cut his throat, with a razor, on the 27th of that month, upon hearing of the ſurrender of the Auſtrians at Ulm. There was, afterwards, ſome doubt, both as to the day and the manner in which he died; it was ſtated, on this ſide of the water, that he had been ſeveral times put to the torture, and that Buonaparté had offered to make him an Admiral, if he would give up the names of the perſons who ſent him to the French coaſt. However, as it is certain that the French Government could not look upon a man, who landed a gang of deſperate aſſaſſins privately, in the night, as being taken in an open and honourable war, it cannot be ſuppoſed they would treat him like another priſoner;

of courſe, their refuſal to exchange him is not hard to account for.

Owing to the impoſſibility of obtaining intelligence along an extent of coaſt like that of France, it, this year, appeared, that not only the frigates of the enemy, but even whole ſquadrons, one of which, from Rochfort, did much miſchief in the Weſt Indies, and eſcaped from ports ſuppoſed to be in a ſtate of ſtrict blockade.

This year the Cleopatra frigate, of 32 guns, after ſuſtaining a long and unequal conteſt with the Ville de Milan, one of the enemy's largeſt frigates, was compelled to ſurrender; but not till Sir Robert Laurie, who commanded the Cleopatra, had ſo completely diſabled his opponent as to render both veſſels, afterwards retaken, an eaſy capture to the Leander of 50 guns. The alarm, about this time, reſpecting the Rochfort ſquadron in the Weſt Indies, had ſcarcely ſubſided, when certain information was received, that Admiral Villeneuve had put to ſea the ſecond time. On the 30th of March, it ſeems, he ſailed from Toulon to Carthagena, to be joined by the Spaniſh ſhips in that port: theſe not being ready, he proceeded, unmoleſted, to Cadiz; where, having been joined by one French and ſix Spaniſh ſail of the line, he directly proceeded to the Weſt Indies, with eighteen ſail of the line, and a number of ſmaller veſſels. On Villeneuve's approach to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, who blockaded that port with five Britiſh ſail of the line, thought prudent to retire, and ſucceeded in joining the Engliſh fleet off Breſt, under Lord Gardner. The ſailing of ſo conſiderable an armament, being known to be deſtined for the Weſt Indies, excited

no ſmall degree of conſternation at home; this we learned for a certainty in the beginning of May, when no intelligence whatever of the movements of Lord Nelſon, who had been up to Toulon and Sicily, had come to hand. But during this anxious period, that able Veteran, after having traverſed the Mediterranean with his ſquadron of ten ſail of the line, and viſited Alexandria, in Egypt, together with Palermo on his return, again put to ſea, and cruiſed in different latitudes, in eager expectation of the enemy, remained till the middle of April before he knew, for a certainty, that Villeneuve had quitted the Mediterranean. At length, having no longer any doubt of the real deſtination of the French, he took the heroic reſolution of purſuing them to the Weſt Indies, with a force of little more than one half of their ſtrength! On proceeding to Lagos Bay, he was ſo fortunate as to find ſome ſtoreſhips, belonging to Sir John Orde's ſquadron, from which he obtained ſupplies, and ſailed, on the 11th of May, direct for his object.

The enemy's deſign being to divide and diſtract our attention; about the middle of May the French fleet put to ſea from Breſt, apparently with an intention of fighting Lord Gardner, who had but 17 ſail of the line againſt 25; but, ſeeing the Engliſh, they thought proper to return into the harbour, and leave Lord Gardner to purſue his blockade without any ſerious interruption!

In the meanwhile, Lord Nelſon had been ſo expeditious, that, on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the Eaſtward of Madeira. On the 4th of June he came to anchor in Carliſle Bay, off Barbadoes; where he learned, that Villeneuve arrived at

Martinique on the 14th of May, and had attacked, and carried, the Diamond Rock, a position supposed to be almost inaccessible. Lord Nelson being soon after joined by two sail of the line, under Admiral Cochrane, prepared to sail again in quest of the enemy, and attack them wherever they might be found. He then steered for Trinidad, where he arrived on the 7th of June; but not finding the enemy, he steered for Grenada, where he had the mortification to learn, that the enemy's squadrons, again acting in conjunction, had, that very morning, sailed for Martinique. Thinking Antigua was their object, his Lordship immediately steered towards that Island: but here, again, disappointment awaited him; though he learned that the combined squadrons had determined upon, and were returning to Europe. Lord Nelson having disembarked the troops he had on board at Antigua, which caused two or three days delay, once more set sail for Europe; he also dispatched the Curieux sloop to England, and the Decade frigate to Lisbon, to spread the intelligence of the enemy's return in every direction. Still Lord Nelson reached the Straits on the 19th of July without having seen the enemy, after having, in seventy-eight days, from the time he quitted Tetuan Bay to his return to Gibraltar, twice traversed, with his whole fleet, the Atlantic Ocean, and visited Egypt and all the Leeward West India Islands. On the 22d of July his Lordship again entered Tetuan Bay; where, after procuring supplies, he made sail again, on the 26th, in hopes of encountering the fugitive fleet off Cape St. Vincent, or, by taking a Northward direction, fall in with them in a higher latitude.

It ought to have been mentioned before, that the firſt Rochfort ſquadron, that eſcaped from port in the month of March, ſucceeded in laying the Iſlands of Domingo and St. Kitt's under contribution, but not without ſome reſiſtance in both places. The Iſland of Nevis was alſo laid under ſome contribution, which, on the arrival of Admiral Cochrane in thoſe ſeas, put an end to this marauding expedition; and the enemy's ſquadron was then ſo fortunate as to arrive ſafely in France, and eſcape the different Engliſh fleets that were at ſea!

It ſeemed, as it was ſoon after obſerved, as if fate had decreed that Nelſon ſhould have the immortal honour of ſaving his country, and, upon that occaſion, merely by the terror of his name, and without his firing a gun; circumſtances, which at the time, were, doubtleſs, of extreme mortification to this Great Man, but which, in point of fact, redound more to his fame, and place it higher than even his ſplendid victories. His Lordſhip approached Cadiz on the 27th of July, but finding the enemy had not entered that port, he ſailed for Cape St. Vincent, and, afterwards, traverſed the Bay of Biſcay, without ſeeing or hearing any thing of them. He, afterwards, made the North-weſt coaſt of Ireland, and was equally diſappointed. He then reſolved to return to England; his laſt meaſure being, with his uſual ſagacity, that of detaching nine ſhips of the line to reinforce the Channel Fleet, under Lord Gardner. On the 18th of Auguſt Lord Nelſon, in the Victory, arrived at Portſmouth, and on the 20th reached London, where his reception, among all ranks, was almoſt inconceivable. But, in the meanwhile, the

French Admiral, Villeneuve, whose fleet had increased to twenty sail of the line, had the misfortune of falling in with Sir Robert Calder, near Cadiz, instead of the gallant Nelson. Sir Robert Calder's force consisted of fifteen sail of the line, and an action immediately commenced, which was begun by the English Admiral with skill, intrepidity, and judgment, and lasted four hours, the enemy fighting the whole time with the most determined resolution. At the end of that period, two of the enemy's ships of the line, the Raphael of 84 guns, and El Firma of 74, had struck; when Sir Robert Calder deemed it necessary to bring the squadron to, to cover them; a measure rendered still more necessary by the state of the weather, which was so foggy as to prevent the English ships from seeing the vessels ahead or astern of them: of course, it was impossible to manœuvre with any effect, while the wind and the weather, during the whole day, were highly favourable to the enemy. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and next morning the Combined Fleet seemed disposed to renew the action, but they never approached nearer the British line than four leagues.—At length, after several manœuvres, the enemy was seen bearing away at daybreak on the 24th, and steering, under an easy sail, to the South-east. England, however, felt itself so much disappointed in Sir Robert Calder, and the public murmurs were so loud and frequent, that Sir Robert returned to England, for the purpose of demanding an investigation of his proceedings; but, though the Court acquitted him of any imputation of fear or cowardice, he was most severely reprimanded for an error in judgment; notwithstanding

he had ſerved his country moſt meritoriouſly upwards of forty years, and was captain to Earl St. Vincent on that triumphant day which gave his Lordſhip his title, and the Spaniards a moſt ſignal defeat.

However, to return to the Combined Fleets: it appeared that they had reached the port of Ferrol in ſafety, and had been ſeen at ſea on the 13th of Auguſt, to the number of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, and eight veſſels of a lower order: this event was followed up by news of its arriving at Cadiz on the 21ſt of Auguſt, the ſmall force under Admiral Collingwood not offering it any oppoſition. Theſe circumſtances made it neceſſary for Lord Nelſon to think of proceeding to ſee again almoſt as ſoon as he had arrived in London: it is ſufficient to ſtate, that he arrived at Portſmouth on the 14th of September and put to ſea on the following day; and that, upon arriving off Cadiz, he received the command of the fleet under Admiral Collingwood, the reinforcements of which had made it equal to the taſk of coping with the enemy, and of puniſhing his temerity, ſhould he even venture out of port. In the meanwhile, it was well known that the Combined Squadrons were preparing to ſail, and the Mediterranean was ſtrongly ſurmiſed to have been their object. Lord Nelſon is alſo ſtated to have made uſe of a ſtratagem to bring them out.—Having, about the middle of October, received certain information, from England, that he would be joined by ſeven ſail of the line, he made no heſitation in detaching Admiral Louis and ſix ſhips of the line (being a fourth of his force at that time) upon a particular ſervice, and that in ſo open a manner and ſo undiſguiſedly, that it became immediately known to the enemy, and decided his conduct; as it

induced Admiral Villeneuve, seeing the English fleet reduced to twenty-one sail of the line, to take advantage of his manifest superiority, and make one vast effort to break the spirit and humble the naval pride of Britain.' But as the exploits of Monday the 21st of October, 1805, will be a day for ever memorable in the British annals, we think we cannot transmit the Account of the Transactions that immortalized it, in better language than that of the Official Dispatches, which follow, from "The London Gazette."

ACCOUNT

Of the Naval Victory, and Death, of LORD NELSON; *from the Despatches of* VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD, *Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels off Cadiz.*

"SIR, Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, Oct. 22.

"The ever to be lamented Death of Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the Enemy, fell, in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; that, on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the Commander in Chief, from the ships watching the motions of the Enemy in Cadiz, that the Combined Fleet had put to sea: as they sailed with light winds Westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and, immediately, made all sail for the Straits entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours; where his Lordship was informed, by Captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the Enemy's movements has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the Straits.

"On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore East by South about seven leagues, the Enemy was discovered, six or seven miles to the Eastward, the wind about West and very light. The Commander in

Chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The Enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships, of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve: the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore with their heads to the Northward, and formed their line of battle with great coolness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of the second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure, in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag, in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

"As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary; and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

"The Commander in Chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lea.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the Enemy's line; the Commander in Chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the Enemy unoccupied, the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the muzzles of their guns! The conflict was severe; the Enemy's ships were

fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to grant to his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the Enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the Southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off: leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinadada and the Santa Anna) with three flag officers; viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief; Don Ignatia Maria D'Aliva, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Ridalgo Cisneros.

"After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

"The Achille, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders.

"A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their Lordships.—The Temeraire was boarded, by accident or design, by a French ship on one side and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous; but, in the end, the Combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

"Such a battle could not be fought without ſuſtaining a great loſs of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the Britiſh navy, and the Britiſh nation, in the fall of the Commander in Chief, the loſs of a Hero whoſe name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the moſt poignant grief for the death of a Friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inſpired ideas ſuperior to the common race of men, I was bound by the ſtrongeſt ties of affection; a grief, to which even the glorious occaſion in which he fell does not bring that conſolation which, perhaps, it ought. His Lordſhip received a muſket-ball in his left breaſt, about the middle of the action, and ſent an officer to me, immediately, with his laſt farewel; and ſoon after expired!

"I have, alſo, to lament the loſs of theſe excellent officers, Captains Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.

"I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great, when the returns come to me; but, it having blown a gale of wind ever ſince the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ſhips.

"The Royal Sovereign having loſt her maſts, except the tottering foremaſt, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued; which ſhip lying within hail, made my ſignals, a ſervice Captain Blackwood performed with great attention.—After the action, I ſhifted my flag to her, that I might more eaſily communicate my orders to and collect the ſhips, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to leeward. The whole fleet were now in a perilous ſituation; many diſmaſted, all ſhattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the ſhoals of Trafalgar; and, when I made ſignal to prepare to anchor, few of the ſhips had an anchor to let go, their cables being ſhot. But the ſame good Providence, which aided us through ſuch a day, preſerved us in the night, by the wind ſhifting a few points, and drifting the ſhips off the land, except four of the cap-

tured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar; and, I hope, will ride safe until those gales are over.

"Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory, which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country. I am, &c.

"C. COLLINGWOOD."

"The order in which the ships of the British squadron attacked the combined fleets, on the 21st of October:

"VAN—Victory, Temeraire, Neptune, Conqueror, Leviathan, Ajax, Orion, Agamemnon, Minotaur, Spartiate, Britannia, Africa, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, Naïad, Pickle schooner, Entreprenante cutter:

"REAR.—Royal Sovereign, Mars, Belliſle, Tonnant, Bellerophon, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, Revenge, Swiftsure, Defence, Thunderer, Defiance, Prince, Dreadnought.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

GENERAL ORDER.

Euralyus, October 23.

"The ever to be lamented Death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, the Commander in Chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of victory, covered with glory; whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy, and the British nation; whose zeal for the honour of his King, and for the interests of his Country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman! leaves to me a duty; to return my thanks to the right honourable Rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of royal marines, serving on board his Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day. But where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in the

battle with the Enemy, where every individual appeared an hero, on whom the glory of the country depended; the attack was irreſiſtible, and the iſſue of it adds to our naval annals a brilliant inſtance of what Britons can do, when their King and their Country need their ſervice.

"To the right honourable Rear-admiral, the Earl of Northeſk, to the captains, officers, and ſeamen, and to the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and privates of the royal marines, I beg to give my ſincere and hearty thanks, for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ſhips out from the perilous ſituation in which they were, after their ſurrender, among the ſhoals of Trafalgar, in boiſterous weather:

"And I deſire, that the reſpective captains will be pleaſed to communicate to the officers, ſeamen, and royal marines, this public teſtimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

To the Right honourable EARL OF NORTHESK, *and the reſpective Captains and Commanders:*

GENERAL ORDER.

"The Almighty God, whoſe arm is ſtrength! having, of his great mercy, been pleaſed to crown the exertion of his Majeſty's fleet with ſucceſs, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, on the 21ſt of this month; and, that all praiſe and thankſgiving may be offered up to the Throne of Grace for the great benefits to our country, and to mankind:

"I have thought proper, that a day ſhould be appointed, of general humiliation before God, and thankſgiving for this, his merciful goodneſs; imploring forgiveneſs of ſins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his conſtant aid to us in the defence of our country's liberties and laws, without which the utmoſt efforts of man are nought; and

direct, therefore, that.....be appointed for this holy purpose.

" Given on board the Euralyus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

(Signed) " C. COLLINGWOOD."

To the respective Captains and Commanders.

" N. B. The fleet having been diſperſed by a gale of wind, no day, as yet, has been able to be appointed for the above purpoſe."

" SIR, Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 24.

" In my Letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of his Majeſty's ſquadron on the day of the action, and that preceding it, ſince which I have had a continued ſeries of misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not poſſibly provide againſt, or my ſkill prevent.

" On the 22d, in the morning, a ſtrong Southerly wind blew, with ſqually weather; which, however, did not prevent the activity of the officers and ſeamen of ſuch ſhips as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the prizes (13 or 14) and towing them off to the Weſtward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but, on the 23d, the gale increaſed, and the ſea ran ſo high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and, ſome of them taking advantage in the dark and boiſterous night, got before the wind, and have, perhaps, drifted upon the ſhore and ſunk: on the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten ſail of ſhips, who had not been much engaged, ſtood up to leeward of my ſhattered and ſtraggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the leaſt injured ſhips, and form to leeward, for their defence; all this retarded the progreſs of the hulks; and the bad weather continuing, determined

me to deſtroy all the leeward-moſt that could be cleared of the men; conſidering that keeping poſſeſſion of the ſhips was a matter of little conſequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy: but even this was an arduous taſk in the high ſea, which was running. I hope, however, it has been accompliſhed to a conſiderable extent; I entruſted it to ſkilful officers, who would ſpare no pains to execute what was poſſible. The captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinadada and ſunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet, this moment, from Gibraltar, had the charge of deſtroying four others.—The Redoubtable ſunk aſtern of the Swiftſure while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is ſunk, as her ſide was almoſt entirely beat in; and ſuch is the ſhattered condition of the whole of them, that, unleſs the weather moderates, I doubt whether I ſhall be able to carry a ſhip of them into port! I hope their Lordſhips will approve of what I (having only in conſideration the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity.

"I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ſhip; Vice-admiral Don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can ſpare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet; Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naïd; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23), I ſhall collect the other flag officers, and ſend them to England, with their flags (if they do not all go to the bottom,) to be laid at his Majeſty's feet.

"There were four thouſand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken, with Admiral Villeneuve, in the Bucentaure.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

To complete the deſtruction of this great Armament, Sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, afterwards, fell in with four French ſhips of the line, that had

eſcaped from Trafalgar, the whole of which he captured on the 4th of November. Admiral Collingwood ſent the following Diſpatch, with the particulars, as to the manner in which the whole of the Combined Fleets were diſpoſed of.

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, November 4.

"SIR,

"On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the ſquadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from South-weſt, the ſquadron not in a ſituation of ſafety, and ſeeing little proſpect of getting the captured ſhips off the land, and great riſk of ſome of them getting into port; I determined no longer to delay the deſtroying them, and to get the ſquadron out of the deep bay. The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, ſaved the French Swiftſure; and his ſhip the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perſeverance of all the officers employed in the ſervice.—Captain Hope rigged, and ſucceeded in bringing out, the Ildefonſo; all of which will, I hope, have arrived ſafe at Gibraltar. For the reſt, Sir, I incloſe you a Liſt of all the Enemy's Fleet which were in the action, and how they are diſpoſed of; which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

"I informed you, in my Letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the Enemy's fleet came out a ſecond time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off ſome of the hulks; when the Rayo was diſmaſted, and fell into our hands; ſhe, afterwards, parted her cable, went aſhore, and was wrecked: the Indomptable, one of the ſame ſquadron, was alſo driven aſhore, wrecked, and her crew periſhed! The Santa Anna and Algeziras, being driven near the ſhore of Cadiz, got ſuch aſſiſtance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumſtances of fighting them cloſe to

their own ſhore: had the battle been in the ocean ſtill fewer would have eſcaped. Twenty ſail of the line are taken or deſtroyed; and of thoſe which got in, not more than three are in a repairable ſtate for a length of time. Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached, with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of theſe ſhips, and to ſee the convoy in ſafety a certain diſtance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th. In clearing the captured ſhips of priſoners, I found ſo many wounded men, that, to alleviate human miſery as much as was in my power, I ſent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-general of Andaluſia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given; a propoſal which was received with the greateſt thankfulneſs, not only by the Governor, but the whole country reſounds with expreſſions of gratitude. Two French frigates were ſent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the Engliſh who had been wrecked in ſeveral of the ſhips, and an offer of the Marquis de Solana, of the uſe of their hoſpitals for our wounded; pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended. I have ordered moſt of the Spaniſh priſoners to be releaſed; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition, that they do not ſerve in the war, by ſea or land, until exchanged. By my correſpondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerouſly wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a priſoner of war, a copy of which I encloſe, together with a ſtate of the flag officers of the Combined Fleet. I am, &c. C COLLINGWOOD."

A LIST

Of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, in the Action of October 21, off Cape Trafalgar; ſhewing how they were diſpoſed of.

1. *Spaniſh ſhip*—San Ildefonſo, 74 gun; Brigadier Don Joſeph De Vargas. Sent to Gibraltar.

2. *Spaniſh.*—San Juan Nepomuceno, 74 guns; Brigadier Don Coſme Churruca. Sent to Gibraltar.

3. *Spaniſh.*—Bahama, 74 guns; Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano. Sent to Gibraltar.

4. *French.*—Swiftſure, 74 guns; M. Villemadrill. Sent to Gibraltar.

5. *Spaniſh.*—Monarca, 74 guns; Don Jeodoro Argumoſa. Wrecked off San Lucar.

6. *French.*—Fougeux, 74 guns; Monſ. Beaudouin. Wrecked off Trafalgar; all periſhed, and thirty of the Temeraire's men.

7. *French.*—Indomptable, 84 guns; Monſ. Hubert. Wrecked off Rota; all periſhed.

8. *French.*—Bucentaure, 80 guns; Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie. Wrecked on the Porques; ſome of the crew ſaved.

9. *Spaniſh.*—San Franciſco de Aſis, 74 guns; Don Louis De Flores. Wrecked near Rota.

10. *Spaniſh.*—El Rayo, 100 guns; Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel. Wrecked near San Lucar.

11. *Spaniſh.*—Neptuno, 84 guns; Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes. Wrecked between Rota and Catalina.

12. *French.*—Argonaute, 74 guns; M. Epron. On ſhore in the port of Cadiz.

13. *French.*—Berwic, 74 guns; M. Camas. Wrecked to the Northward of San Lucar.

14. *French.*—L'Aigle, 74 guns; Monſ. Courrege. Wrecked near Rota.

15. *French.*—Achille, 74 guns; Monſ. D'Nieuport. Burnt during the action.

16. *French*—Intrepide, 74 guns; M. Infornet. Burnt by the Britannia.

17. *Spaniſh.*—San Auguſtin, 74 guns; Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal. Burnt by the Leviathan.

18. *Spaniſh.*—Santiſſima Trinadada, 140 guns; Rear-admiral Don Baltazar H. Ciſneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte. Sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c.

19. *French.*—Redoubtable, 74 guns; M. Lucas. Sunk

aftern of the Swiftfure; Temeraire loft thirteen, and Swiftfure five men.

20. *Spanifh.*—Argonauta, 80 guns; Don Ant. Parejo. Sunk by the Ajax.

21. *Spanifh.*—Santa Anna, 112 guns; Vice-admiral Don Ignacio D'Alava; Captain Don Jofeph de Gardoqui. Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, difmafted.

22. *French.*—Algeziras, 74 guns; Rear-admiral Magon; (killed) Captain M. Bruaro. Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, difmafted.

23. *French*—Pluton, 74 guns; Mons. Cofmao. Returned to Cadiz in a finking ftate

24. *Spanifh.*—San Juftc, 74 guns; Don Miguel Gafton. Returned to Cadiz; has a foremaft only.

25. *Spanifh*— San Leandro, 64 guns; Don Jofeph de Quevedo. Returned to Cadiz, difmafted.

26. *French.*—Neptune, 84 guns; M. Maiftral. Returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. *French.*—Heros, 74 guns; M. Poulain. Returned to Cadiz; lower maits in, and Admiral Rolfillie's flag on board.

28. *Spanifh.*—Principe de Afturias, 112 guns; Admiral Don F. Gravina; Don Ant. Efcano, &c. Returned to Cadiz, difmafted.

29. *Spanifh.*—Montanez, 74 guns; Don Fran. Alcedo. Returned to Cadiz.

30. *French.*—Formidable, 80 guns; Rear-admiral Dumanier. Hauled to the Southward and efcaped.

31. *French**.—Mont Blanc, 74 guns; M. Le Villegues; hauled to the Southward and efcaped.

32. *French.*—Scapion, 74 guns; M. Bereager. Hauled to the Southward and efcaped.

33. *French.*—Duguay Trouin, 74 guns; M. Toffet. Hauled to the Southward and efcaped.

* Thefe four ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 4th of November.

ABSTRACT.—At Gibraltar	4
Deſtroyed	16
In Cadiz (wrecks) ...6 }	
Ditto (ſerviceable) ...3 }	9
Eſcaped to the Southward	4
Total ...	33

Names and Rank of the Flag Officers on board the Combined Fleet.

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief, Bucentaure; taken.—Admiral Don Fred. Gravina, Principe de Aſturias, eſcaped into Cadiz, wounded in the arm.—Vice-admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Alava, Santa Anna; wounded ſeverely in the head; taken, but was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna.—Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Ciſneros, Sandiſſima Trinadada; taken.—Rear-admiral Magon, Algeziras, killed.—Rear-admiral Dumanoir, Formidable; eſcaped."

PRIVATE LETTER

From an Officer of the Euryalus; dated October 26.

"SIR,

"I ſcarcely know whether, after ſo great a loſs as the nation has ſuſtained in Lord Nelſon, and every one of us a friend, added to the inevitable deſtruction of nineteen fine prizes, I ought to congratulate you; but, ſince the Enemy *minus* ſo many ſhips, and we, I truſt, not one! even in that there is matter to rejoice. Such a victory, and under circumſtances ſo diſadvantageous to the attack, never was atchieved: Admiral Villeneuve, who is now at my elbow, can ſcarcely yet credit it; and his deſpair and grief exceeds any thing I ever ſaw. To reſiſt ſuch an attack, and ſeconded as Lord Nelſon was, was vain. I did not leave the Victory till the ſhot was flying thick over her; and the laſt ſignal Lord Nelſon made was ſuch, as cannot, and never will be forgot: (it was by telegraph) 'That

England expected every man would do his duty!' I have time for no more: the veſſel is going; but I ſhall ſoon ſee you, as I am to carry home the captured admirals."

The mortification that this Defeat muſt have cauſed to the French Emperor juſt after he had declared, that he wanted nothing but *ſhips, colonies and commerce*, may be eaſier conceived than expreſſed. Still, though the conſequence of England was raiſed moſt conſiderably in the eſtimation of the Allies, the victories of Napoleon, by land, did not ſuffer them to avail themſelves of it in the manner it might have done, had their advantages by land been more upon a par with ours by ſea. However the circumſtance ſerved the miniſters; and their characters, for the time, were elevated, in ſome meaſure, in proportion with that of the Hero whom they had been ſo fortunate to employ.

The year 1805 was remarkable for nothing more prominent, than the arrival of the wife of Jerome Buonaparté in England.—This was a Miſs Paterſon, whom he married while he was in America, after the ſeventy-four gun ſhip, which he commanded, having eluded the vigilance of the Britiſh ſquadrons in the Weſt Indies, took refuge in an American port. Jerome Buonaparté, it appeared, ſailed in the Erin, a neutral veſſel, from Baltimore, and landed at Liſbon, from whence he ſet off, by land, to Paris; ordering the veſſel to proceed to Amſterdam, from which city he intended his wife ſhould follow him to the French Capital, as ſoon as he ſhould obtain the requiſite leave from his brother: but, on the ſhip's arrival in the Texel, Madam Buonaparté not being permitted to go on ſhore, ſhe thought proper, being pregnant, to truſt herſelf among the Engliſh. She was accompanied by a Mrs. Anderſon, her countrywoman; her brother,

Mr. William Paterſon; and Dr. Garnier, a French phyſician, who landed at Dover on the 15th of June. She, afterwards, took up her reſidence near Camberwell, where ſhe remained during the ſummer, till ſhe embarked for her own country, in the brig Mary, and arrived at Baltimore on the 9th of November following.

The public events of the year 1805 were, upon the whole, very favourable to the French. The Archduke Charles had an interview, on the 27th of December, with the French Emperor, at Stanierſdorf, near Vienna, when the terms of peace between France and Auſtria were finally adjuſted: a few days after the peace was actually ſigned, at Preſburg in Hungary, between France and Auſtria; by M. Talleyrand, on the part of France; and Prince John of Lichtenſtein, on the part of Auſtria: by which Auſtria loſt the city and territory of Venice, and a conſiderable part of her German poſſeſſions. The French Emperor arrived, ſoon after, at Munich, on his return to Paris: the reſult of this viſit was, that the Elector of Bavaria aſſumed the title of King; a ſimilar title being alſo granted to the Duke of Wirtemberg, for his ſtrict adherence to the cauſe of France; and even this, and other meaſures ſtill more derogatory to the ancient dignity of the Germanic Empire, was ſtipulated for in the Treaty of Preſburg! By land, the efforts of England terminated in a diplomatic miſſion of Lord Harrowby to the Court of Berlin; and, on the part of Ruſſia, by the arrival of the Grand Duke Conſtantine at the Pruſſian Capital. But an expedition to the North of Germany was planned by the Britiſh Cabinet, of the execution of which it will be our province to treat, hereafter, more at large.—To theſe

movements, it ſeemed, the occupation of Hanover by the Pruſſians, and the Pruſſian Declaration, gave birth: thus, at the time when the Pruſſians were expected to act againſt the French in the *South* of Germany, they ſuddenly appeared in the *North!* They entered Hanover, and re eſtabliſhed the Electoral Government: at the ſame time, the troops of the Electorates of Saxony and Heſſe Caſſel were both put upon the war eſtabliſhment: the latter then thought proper to declare, that the object of his military movements was only to preſerve his neutrality! but the reſult will ſhew, that theſe Electors acted under the influence of Pruſſia, whoſe crooked policy, both towards the Engliſh and the French, brought itſelf and the Elector of Heſſe to his ruin; while Saxony owed its preſervation more to the clemency of the Conqueror than to the proweſs or probity of the Pruſſian Monarch; who in this, as well as other reſpects, had long been ſtriving to act the Emperor in the North of Germany.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Creation and Marriage of new Kings.—Public Funeral of Lord Nelson.—Great Storm.—Death of Mr. Pitt.—His Character, by Mr. Roscoe.—Change of the Ministry.

THE first day of the new year, 1806, was distinguished, in Germany, by an event not a little singular; viz. the coronation of the Electors of Wirtemberg and Bavaria as Kings; which dignity was further amplified by a considerable increase of territory, at the expense of the unfortunate House of Austria!—But this was not all: Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of the French Empress by her first husband, guillotined under Robespierre, (then the adopted son of the French Emperor, and Viceroy of Italy) was married to the Princess Augustus Amelia, of Bavaria, daughter of the new king: a daughter of the King of England was also raised to the dignity of a queen; viz. Queen of Wirtemberg.

In the meanwhile, the transcendent services of Lord Nelson having procured a Vote of Parliament for bestowing public funeral honours on his remains; the procession for this purpose took place on the 9th of January, after the body had lain in state in the Painted Hall at Greenwich; from whence it was removed, by water, on the preceding day, to the Admiralty The Car, constructed for the purpose of conveying the body, and the spectacle in general, was calculated at once to gratify the eye and impress the heart. The Hero was attended by heroes to his grave! accompanied by the Seven Sons of his Sovereign; the

chief nobility and gentry in the kingdom; detachments of various regiments and corps of volunteers; a ſmall body of ſeamen; and immenſe multitudes of all claſſes of the community. One circumſtance, however, tended to throw a little ſhade over the luſtre of the day: ſome perſons entruſted with the management of the proceſſion, it is ſuppoſed, were ſo much engaged with the thoughts of the *dead* Hero as to forget the *living:* for the ſailors, that attended with the body from Greenwich, no proviſion was made, not even a dinner! and, being without the means, they were obliged to apply for relief to the City Magiſtrate, to prevent their begging their way back to their ſhips! But the exit of Nelſon, like that of another great man; (viz. Cromwell) whoſe *Navigation Act* laid the foundation of all our envied greatneſs at ſea, was marked with a perturbation of the elements, thus noticed in ſome of the public journals of Saturday, January 11th:

"Between four and five o'clock, the inhabitants of London, and its vicinity, were arouſed from their peaceful ſlumbers, by one of the moſt dreadful tornados felt for many years. It is a wonderful coincidence, that ſcarcely had the body of Lord Nelſon reached the Admiralty, than a hurricane burſt forth, only inferior to the one we are deſcribing; and ſcarcely were his mortal remains depoſited in the ſacred tomb, and the ceremony of his inhumation finally cloſed, when the elements were, a ſecond time, convulſed, and it ſeemed that the paſſage of the Hero, to immortality, was to be as much diſtinguiſhed by ſtorms as the life, by which he had merited the palm of glory, had been by daring enterpriſes. The ruſh-

ing of the wind was dreadful, and threatened general deſtruction! thouſands aroſe from their beds, alarmed at ſo unuſual a viſitation; the thunder growled, and repeated flaſhes of lightning added to the awfulneſs of the ſcene! the rain, or, rather, hail, fell in torrents! The mail and ſtage-coaches, travelling the roads, were ſtationary; for the affrighted horſes were unable to move, and the drivers, equally alarmed, were obliged to alight! Numerous ſtacks of chimnies and dilapidated houſes were blown down; ſome of the veſſels in the river were driven from their moorings and materially damaged: the ſhips in the Weſt India Docks, ſheltered as they are, were much ſtrained by the violence of the wind! The lead and copper coverings to the roofs of a number of warehouſes were wrenched off, rolled round, and carried to conſiderable diſtances! In St. James's Park two trees were broken aſunder; the one, of ancient growth, at the bottom of the trunk; and the other, a young tree, and protected by a fence, right in the middle: a third, too vigorous to bend to the blaſt, was torn up by the roots, and the earth ſcattered around it! Some trees were alſo blown down in Hyde Park. The neighbourhood of Finſbury Square was, for a few ſeconds, illuminated with a fiery meteor, which made an awful appearance, and very ſeriouſly alarmed many of the inhabitants!"

This Funeral was ſoon followed by a ſtriking monition, in conſequence of the fall of another great Pillar of the ſyſtem; that is to ſay, the death of Mr. Pitt, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. in the forty-ſeventh year of his age.

It was juſtly obſerved of him, that "He was a man of firm purpoſe, upright principle, and honour-

able pride: but his firmneſs led him, imperceptibly, into obſtinacy, and it was this part of his character that gave his adverſaries ſuch advantage over him. His grand characteriſtic foible was a jealouſy of place and honour, which defeated the ſucceſs of his beſt concerted projects: he preferred inſtruments to aſſociates or aſſiſtants in office, thereby committing the execution of his plans to men wholly unequal to the taſk of executing them: hence the failure of his moſt mature ſchemes; hence the loſs to the nation of his grandeſt conceptions; and hence the gigantic growth and prodigious aggrandizement of France —But, notwithſtanding his errors or his failures, he was a truly great man. He died, however, on a pillow of thorns, in a moment of humiliation and misfortune. He was no ſooner gone, than the remaining part of the adminiſtration fell, like a ruined fabric, dependant on a ſingle prop!"

The character of this great Miniſter appears to have been drawn with ſuch impartiality by W. Roſcoe, Eſquire, in his *Conſiderations on the Cauſes, Objects, and Conſequences, of the preſent War*, that we have borrowed the following Character from that excellent Production:

"With the battle of Auſterlitz the Confederation againſt France terminated, and with that terminated alſo the political career and the life of Mr. Pitt.—A ſtateſman to whom it would be unjuſt to deny the endowments of extraordinary talents, and the praiſe of having improved thoſe talents, in ſome departments, to a moſt uncommon degree. But theſe accompliſhments, which ought to have rendered him a benefactor to his country, were, unfortunately, ſubſervient to one predominating paſſion, which not only

counteracted their good effects, but converted them into implements of danger and deſtruction. This paſſion he inherited from his father, who cheriſhed it in the early years of his ſon, and directed his infant gaze towards that eminent ſtation which he had himſelf once occupied. In his education nothing was left undone that could qualify him to attain this object; and no one, certainly, ever entered into public life with equal advantages. There is, however, an eſſential difference between thoſe qualities which are calculated to obtain power and thoſe which enable us to make a proper uſe of it. Unfortunately, the ſyſtem of education of Mr. Pitt was, in politics, that which Lord Cheſterfield's was in private life: it was founded on too narrow a baſis, and aimed too directly at its object. A cultivated mind and a humane diſpoſition will render their poſſeſſor truly polite, ſound principles and a real love of mankind truly patriotic; but, without theſe, neither the politeneſs nor the patriotiſm are any thing more than 'a whited ſepulchre.' The ſyſtem was, however, ſucceſsful; the young Orator began his career in a manner the beſt calculated to diſplay his powers. As he ſpoke the hopes of freedom revived; corruption ſhrunk before his glance, and the nation hailed him as her deliverer; but, no ſooner was the prize within his graſp, than he ſeized it with an eagerneſs, and retained it with a tenacity, which all the efforts of his opponents could neither impede nor relax. Having thus obtained the ſupreme power, the talents which had acquired it were employed, with equal ſucceſs, to preſerve it. The correction of abuſes; the removal of peculation and corruption; the reform of the repreſentation; the extenſion of religious and civil li-

berty, were now no longer the objects in view, or were only recalled at ſtated periods, to ſhew with what dexterity the Miniſter could blaſt his promiſe without breaking his faith! Well ſchooled in all the routine and arcana of office, an adept in the ſcience of finance and taxation, Mr. Pitt's great accompliſhment was, a thorough knowledge of the artificial and complex machine of government, and his great defect, a total inſenſibility to the feelings of mankind, and a thorough ignorance of the leading principles of human nature! Unfortunately for his fame and for his country, new ſituations aroſe, to which the hackneyed rules of a narrow policy were totally inapplicable A powerful Nation, whoſe ſlavery had, for ages, been its reproach, threw off its ſhackles, and attempted to form for itſelf a limited monarchy. It was Mr. Pitt's firſt misfortune, to be inſenſible to the grandeur of ſo glorious a ſtruggle; his ſecond, to miſcalculate its conſequences. The firſt act of France was, to hold out her emancipated hands to the free ſtates of England and of America; but the coldneſs of the Miniſter ſoon convinced her, that in this government ſhe was not to expect a friend.—That coldneſs ſoon degenerated into enmity and abhorrence; and through every change of circumſtance and ſituation, through all the evolutions and forms of her government; whether monarchical, republican, ariſtocratical, or deſpotic, ſhe found in him a decided and an inflexible enemy. —With what ſucceſs his hoſtility has been attended impartial hiſtory will ſhew. Whether the attempt was, to march to Paris; to reſtore the family of Bourbon; to reſtrain the French within the limits of their own dominion, or to ſtarve them into ſubjection;

in whatever way our enmity has been demonſtrated, it has failed of its effect. To aſſert, however, that theſe efforts have failed is wholly inadequate to the proper ſtatement of the fact: they have not only failed of their object, but have been the poſitive and active cauſe of the continued union, and conſequent triumph, of the French nation! To what circumſtance is it to be attributed, that a people, ſo reſtleſs in their diſpoſition, ſo changeful in their views, ſhould have been united together through all the variations of their government, and have acted, in all their external relations, with one heart, and as one man: to what, but the continued preſſure of exterior force; to the ſucceſſive combinations, formed under the auſpices of Mr. Pitt, to compel them to ſubmiſſion? That France has ſuffered in the conteſt; that her beſt blood has flowed upon the ſcaffold; that the luminaries of ſcience have been extinguiſhed, and the brighteſt gems of the human intellect trampled under foot; that jealouſy, ambition, cruelty, and revenge, have acted their dreadful parts, in awful ſucceſſion, and have produced a ſcene of calamity unexampled in hiſtory, is but too true: but ſuch was the price that France was compelled, by Europe, to pay for her independence on foreign powers; and, in this view, the purchaſe was, after all, cheaply made. The principle which carried that nation through all her difficulties was, the determination of the people to rally round the exiſting government, whatever that government might be, and to join in repelling, with one hand and one voice, the common enemy. To this they have ſacrificed their eaſe, their property, their friends, their families, their lives, with a prodigality, which excites, at the ſame inſtant, admiration and

horror. But in this they have, as a nation, found their safety: by this they have prevented the still more dreadful consequences that must have resulted from a civil war; in which one half of the nation might have been arrayed in arms against the other, and the contending parties might have exposed a depopulated and bleeding country to be the prey of the first invader.—By this they have disappointed the hopes of those who presumptuously partitioned out the provinces of France, like the kingdom of Poland; and who foresaw no obstacles, but in the difficulties which might occur in dividing the spoil."

It was further observed, that, although several of Mr. Pitt's associates in office were men of talents and business, they felt his death as the signal of the termination of their political power, and the way was now open for Mr. Fox's return to office. His union with the Grenville party, which had existed almost ever since their retirement from office, appeared intimate and cordial; and, though it had obliged him to lower the tone of his parliamentary hostility a little, in favour of his new associates, it was to him an acquisition of strength and talents. Lord Grenville was commissioned by the King, to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration, an appointment which gave general satisfaction. The complexion of the new arrangement was a work of difficulty. However, at length, the names of the new Ministers appeared in the Gazette, as follows:

Treasury.—Lord GRENVILLE, First Lord.—Lord HENRY PETTY; Lord ALTHORPE; Mr. WICKHAM; and Mr. COURTENAY.—Secretaries, Mr. VANSITTART, and Mr. KING.

Earl FITZWILLIAM, President of the Council.

Viſcount SIDMOUTH, Lord Privy Seal.

Foreign Department.—The Right Honourable CHARLES JAMES FOX, Principal Secretary of State.—Under Secretaries, Sir T. VINCENT, and General WALPOLE.

Home Department.—Earl SPENCER, Principal Secretary.—Under Secretaries, Mr. W. WYNNE, and ———.

Colonies.—Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM, Principal Secretary.

Lord ERSKINE, Lord Chancellor.

Lord HENRY PETTY, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Admiralty.—Right Honourable CHARLES GREY, Firſt Lord; Sir PHILIP STEPHENS; Admiral MARKHAM; Sir CHARLES POLE; Sir H B. NEALE; Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL; and Lord KENSINGTON.

Earl MOIRA, Maſter-general of the Ordnance.

General FITZPATRICK, Secretary at War.

R. B. SHERIDAN, Eſquire, Treaſurer of the Navy.

Ireland.—Duke of BEDFORD, Lord Lieutenant.—Secretary, Mr. ELLIOT.

Board of Controul.—Lord MINTO, Preſident; Earl SPENCER; Mr. WINDHAM; Mr. FOX; Lord GRENVILLE; Lord HENRY PETTY; Lord MORPETH; Mr. HELY ADDINGTON; and Mr. SULLIVAN.

Earl of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE and Earl of CARYSFORT, Joint Poſtmaſters.

Lord AUCKLAND and Earl TEMPLE, Preſident and Vice-preſident of the Board of Trade.

Earl TEMPLE and Lord JOHN TOWNSEND, Joint Paymaſters of the Forces.

Earl of CAERNARVON, Maſter of the Horſe.

Lord G. SPENCER, Maſter of the Mint.

Earl of ALBERMARLE, Maſter of the Stag-hounds.

Lord OSSULTON, Treaſurer of the Houſehold.

Earl of DERBY, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter.

Lord ST. JOHN, Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners.

Lord R. SPENCER, Surveyor of Crown Lands.

Mr. BOND, Judge-advocate.

Mr. PIGOT, Attorney-general.

Mr. ROMILLY, Solicitor-general.

Mr. ADAM, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Cornwall.

Mr. GARROW, Attorney-general to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH (Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench) appointed to a Seat in the Cabinet.

To confer ſome mark of public diſtinction upon the deceaſed Miniſter, was one of the firſt motives that operated upon his friends after his deceaſe; notwithſtanding, after much debate in the Court of the Common Council of the City of London, in which it was propoſed to erect a Monument to the Right Honourable William Pitt, the vote in the affirmative was carried by ſix voices only; and, while the body of the late Miniſter was preparing to lay in ſtate in the Painted Chamber of the Houſe of Lords, the Right Honourable Charles James Fox was re-elected for Weſtminſter without oppoſition.

On the 22d of February the Funeral of Mr. Pitt took place. The order of the proceſſion to the Abbey was grand, and moſt reſpectfully attended; but the event had followed the interment of Nelſon too quick to excite the general attention, which, otherwiſe, might have been paid to it. The anthems, and the burial ſervice were the ſame as at the Funeral of Lord Nelſon.

Soon after a Common Council was held in Guildhall, in which the citizens paſſed two reſolutions, expreſſing their ſatisfaction at the appointment of the new miniſtry, and confidence in their future meaſures for the benefit of the nation. A third re-

ſolution returned thanks to Mr. Alderman Combe, for his general parliamentary conduct; and, particularly, for his *oppoſition* to the motion for the erection of a Monument to the late *unfortunate* Miniſter, Mr. Pitt. To this, we add, *Sic tranſit gloria mundi!*—"Thus fleeting is the glory of the world!" The next public meaſure was, the Proclamation of a General Faſt; in which, it is probable, the new miniſters expected as much praiſe and patriotiſm from the pulpits, as had been enjoyed by their predeceſſors in office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Actual Hoſtilities between France and Naples, Bulletin and Proclamation.—Return of Alexander to St. Peterſburgh.—Meetings of eminent Stateſmen reſpecting Peace.—Mr. Windham's mercantile Ideas.—Extraordinary Circular from the French Government.—Outline of ſeveral Treaties.—Preſburgh, &c.—The Pruſſian Proclamation, on ſeizing Hanover, &c.—The Declaration of His Majeſty the King of Great Britain.

THE vengeance that was threatened againſt Naples, by Napoleon, was not long deferred. A French official Bulletin, that reached us in the middle of January, declared, that "the Queen of Naples had ceaſed to reign," ſhe having gone out of the city to meet the Engliſh troops, and received their generals with the utmoſt cordiality; ſo, that, as it was then obſerved, "by the folly of Mr. Pitt and his Allies, another Sovereign was to be hurled with diſgrace from the throne; another illuſtrious daughter of Maria Thereſa made to drink deep of the cup of affliction, and another kingdom added to the coloſſal dominions of France!" The ſame Bulletin ſtated, that "General St. Cyr is advancing by forced marches towards Naples, to puniſh the treaſon of the Queen, and to precipitate from the throne this culpable Woman, who has violated, in ſo ſhameleſs a manner, all that is held ſacred among men!" It was endeavoured to intercede for her with the Emperor; he replied, "Were hoſtilities to re-commence, and the nation to ſupport a thirty years war, ſo atrocious an

act of perfidy cannot be pardoned. The Queen of Naples has ceased to reign! the last crime has completed her destiny. Let her go to London, to encrease the number of intriguers, and form a *Sympathetic Ink* Committee, with Drake, Spencer Smith, Taylor, and Wickham; she may also invite, if she pleases, Baron D'Armfeldt, M. Ferfen, D'Antraigues, and the Monk Morus."

The Army of Italy were further encouraged by the following Effusion, probably dictated by Napoleon himself:

PROCLAMATION.

From my Imperial Camp at Schoenbrun, Dec. 27.

"SOLDIERS!

"For ten years I have done all I could to save the King of Naples; he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself. After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition; I placed confidence in the word of this Prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him. When the Second Coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his Allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time. A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended, and to avenge the insults which I had received: still I was generous: I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples; I ordered you to evacuate that kingdom; and, for the third time, the House of Naples was confirmed and saved. Shall we grant a pardon for a fourth time? shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a Court without truth, honour, or common sense? No! no! The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign! its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our Crown. Soldiers! march, drive into the sea, if

they will wait your attack, thoſe feeble battalions of the tyrants of the ſea. Shew to the world the manner in which we puniſh the perjured. Loſe no time in informing me, that the whole of Italy is ſubject to my laws, or thoſe of my Allies; that the fineſt country of the world is emancipated from the yoke of the moſt perfidious of men, that the ſacredneſs of treaties is avenged; and that the *manes* of my brave ſoldiers, maſſacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having eſcaped from the dangers of the ſea, the deſarts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeaſed. Soldiers! my Brother will lead you on: he is acquainted with my plans; he is the depoſitary of my authority; he is in full poſſeſſion of my confidence; let him have yours.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

In the meanwhile, the Ruſſian Emperor being in ſome meaſure compelled to ſay ſomething, by way of apology for retreating, thought proper to publiſh the following

STATE PAPER.

Holitsch, December 5.

"The exhauſted powers of the Court of Vienna, the misfortunes it has ſuſtained, together with a want of proviſions, have compelled the Roman Emperor, notwithſtanding the ſtrong and vigorous ſupport he has experienced from the Ruſſian troops, to conclude a Convention with France, to which, alſo, a peace muſt ſoon ſucceed. His Imperial Majeſty, having come to his aſſiſtance as an Ally, had no other object in view than his defence, and the averting of thoſe dangers which threatened his Empire; and ſince his Majeſty the Emperor, under the preſent circumſtances, has deemed the preſence of the Ruſſian troops no longer neceſſary in Auſtria, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to order them to leave Auſtria, and to return to Ruſſia.—The relation of the hoſtile operations, to the

period of their ceſſation, will be publiſhed in a ſhort time. The Emperor Alexander took leave of his Imperial Majeſty of Auſtria at ten in the morning of the 6th, and immediately proceeded on his return to St. Peterſburgh."

As we ſhall have, hereafter, to ſpeak of the celebrated negotiations of the preſent year, it will be proper, before we proceed, to mention one of the leading circumſtances which gave birth to them. The loſs of the Battle of Auſterlitz; the fall of Pitt and Nelſon; and the doubtful conduct of Ruſſia, gave occaſion for ſerious reflections among ſeveral great characters in this kingdom, as to the practicability of carrying on the war; more than one meeting was held, and the following were the deciſions of the laſt, which was of the greateſt importance:

Mr. Fox gave it as his opinion, "That, in the preſent ſolitary ſtate of this country, ſevered by the late events from her actual Allies, and by the ſame events rendered deſperate in her hopes of ſupplying their place by others, with Ruſſia retreating in a manner, that a whole year would be loſt before ſhe could again come into the field, and with Auſtria ſo reduced, that ſhe could never again come into the field; that, in this political ſolitude, this abſence of all hope of alliance, nothing remained for this Country but to conclude a peace.—That the Confederacy, and former Alliances, muſt now be conſidered as fully diſſolved; that another muſt be formed by other negotiations; and, that to bring thoſe negotiations to any concluſion muſt be a work of much time, and great uncertainty; that, in the meantime, the war, if it were on war that we were reſolved, muſt either be ſuſpended or continued; if ſuſpended, what was a ſuſpended war but another name for a peace; a

peace of precaution, a peace of ſecurity?—If the war were to be continued, it muſt be continued without Allies. To this he could never conſent, becauſe, in the preſent circumſtances of Europe, and, as to any uſeful purpoſe, he was perſuaded we were unequal to it: that the ſpirit of the country indeed was equal to it; but the ſpirit was one thing and the phyſical ſtrength of the body another: that ſpirit was but another name for paſſion; generous indeed, but, like every other paſſion, not exactly under the controul of reaſon; but, if the paſſion of courage, the paſſion of glory, led us to deſpiſe dangers; reaſon, recalling us from the elevation, brought us lower towards the ground.—That no one admired more than he the generous ſpirit of the country, but he had lived too long, and loved ſafety too well, to ſacrifice it to a name: that he loved heroes in the field, but not in the cabinet.—He concluded by expreſſing as his opinion, that the ſituation of the country required peace.

"Mr. Windham did not approve of this mercantile calculation of the value of peace and war. An article of ſome value was totally omitted.—National honour, in his opinion at leaſt, was no inconſiderable item. Was he called upon to make out a political bill, to balance the creditor and debtor ſide of peace and war, he ſhould charge it at its full value. That a fruitleſs peace was, indeed, better than a fruitleſs war; as a negative evil, an evil of privation, was better than a poſitive evil, an evil of actual ſuffering. That war was, *prima facie*, an evil, and an evil of great magnitude, and was only relatively a good: that he differed much as to the efficiency of the country to maintain a war without a continental ally:

but that he would not rigidly adhere to this opinion, as there were many, very many, of his beſt friends, men by whoſe judgment he had been accuſtomed to frame his own, who now differed with him upon this point; but that there was one point in which all his friends agreed, the neceſſity of a perfect union of one amongſt another, an union which could only be preſerved in its effective coheſion, by a ſteady adherence to one main connecting principle, and mutual ſacrifices in points indifferent. That all he wiſhed was, that, whether peace or war, the honour of the country ſhould be conſidered, as well as its ſafety; that the future ſhould be taken into conſideration as well as the preſent; that we ſhould not ſacrifice future ſafety to preſent eaſe; and that we ſhould value our honour, as the moſt effectual mean of our ſafety, above every petty apparent good. He did not, indeed, approve of ſuch a war as the preſent. He preferred a vigorous peace to an inactive war. He concluded by giving as his opinion,

'Better a peace like a war, than a warlike peace.'

Lord Grenville was not preſent, but a gentleman, who was authoriſed to ſpeak for him, declared for

'A ſafe and honourable peace; a peace rendered ſafe by guarantees, and honourable, by ſupporting an aſpect and a reality, that ſhould teach the enemy that we feared not war.

'Mr. Fox, then ſaid, Thanks to the fortune of the country! thanks to the patriotiſm, which the common ſenſe of our danger has kindled! there is a perfect unanimity, and let this be our mutual pledge:

'A ſafe and honourable peace.—A peace rendered ſafe by guarantees, and honourable, by preſenting an aſpect of ſtrength.—A peace like a war—inſtead of

a war like a peace."' Such was this celebrated meeting.

But here every impartial reader will perceive, that Engliſhmen think, as well as, to the preſent moment, appear to proceed, that if, to make peace, it was neceſſary to conſult *one* party only, inſtead of *two*. Mr. Windham, it is true, cenſured a "mercantile calculation of peace and war;" but, ſtill even his cenſure was conceived in the ſpirit of a merchant, reaſoning metaphyſically. He was for adding *honour* to the account; not dreaming, that, if the enemy ſhould be as ſtrenuous in adding honour alſo, it would be impoſſible to ſay where hoſtilities would ſtop. Vigour, however, was neceſſary, even to ſave the remains of the Engliſh troops, that had not yet been withdrawn from the environs of Hanover. It was known that the King of Pruſſia had intimated to Lord Cathcart, that he could no longer be anſwerable for the ſafety of the Britiſh troops in the North of Germany. In fact, it was declared in France, that *Pruſſia* was *ſilenced*; while the ſame Document ſhewed plainly that our party, who had been ſpeculating upon peace, had, in reality, conſidered but one ſide of the queſtion. This Note, bold in its language beyond all precedent, was iſſued in the form of a Circular, and diſtributed in great numbers upon the continent; it ran thus:

"FRENCHMEN!

"Your Emperor has conquered Auſtria, humbled Ruſſia, ſilenced Pruſſia, and commanded the admiration of the world, by his *generoſity* and *moderation*, as much as by his valour and achievements. England ſtill dares to reſiſt, but her reſiſtance is the ſtruggle the of agony of death:

ſhe is breathing her laſt! If ſhe deſires a few years longer exiſtence, inſtead of immediate deſtruction, ſhe *muſt*, in the Eaſt, re-eſtabliſh the kingdom of Myſore, ſuch as it was in 1784; reſtore Ceylon to Holland, and renounce her monopoly in India commodities and trade. In the Weſt, ſhe *muſt* give up Jamaica, as a ſecurity for her aſſiſtance to us to deſtroy the anarchy of the Blacks in St. Domingo. She muſt evacuate the Mediterranean, give up Malta to its Grand Maſter, and Gibraltar to its lawful and territorial ſovereign. Nowhere will inimical ports be declared in blockade, or the flags of neutrals moleſted, inſulted, and pillaged. The ſea ſhall be as *free* as the earth, and, without the permiſſion of the Emperor of the French, a veſſel ſhall no more dare to ſail, than a fort be built, or a cannon fired. Frenchmen! you are already (thanks to your heroic Emperor!) the moſt powerful of people; a little more patience, you will alſo be the moſt happy and the moſt wealthy.

(Signed) "DUBOIS, Prefect of Police.
(Counterſigned) "PITS, Secretary."
Paris, December 17, 1805.

This was truly the year of negotiations; as, about this time, copies of the Treaties of Concert, that had been made between Great Britain, Ruſſia, and Sweden, tranſpired to the public view; to theſe treaties the acceſſion of Auſtria had been obtained. Theſe ſtate papers may be read with conſiderable intereſt: ſuch a concert of powers, ſuch objects of magnitude, ſuch a hoſt of men, ſuch ſums of money, would exceed belief, if we had not the authority of the acts themſelves: 500,000 effective men were to be brought into the field againſt the common enemy, for which this country had ſtipulated to pay one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for every hundred thouſand men; a ſum of ſix millions two hundred

thousand pounds a year, during the continuance of the war, the duration of which might have been very uncertain, as peace was not to be made with France but by the common consent of all the powers united in the League! In fact, there never was a treaty so plentifully sprinkled with the words, *energetic concert*, *energy*, *dispatch*, &c.; but, alas! the reader need not be told, that the fatal battle of Austerlitz put all these fine expressions to flight, and that stipulations on paper will, very frequently, vanish in the field!

The treaty of Presburg was also published in the same month.—It may be divided into two general heads; Territorial Cessions, and Indemnities. By this the Emperor of Austria ceded one third of his hereditary estates, the most fertile, highly cultivated, and the most populous of the Circles; besides the loss of all future influence or interference in the affairs of Germany!

The manifest designs of Prussia were not much longer concealed.—About the middle of February we learned, that a Proclamation was issued in Hanover, on the 5th of that month, announcing nothing less, than his Prussian Majesty's intention to incorporate the German dominions of his Britannic Majesty with his own; and directing the Constituted Authorities immediately to take the oath of Allegiance to their new sovereign.—This act was followed by shutting us out of the Elbe and the Weser, and will, hereafter, appear to have been the result of a treaty made between the Prussian minister and the French Emperor, at the specific moment when every one supposed hostilities against France, on the part of Prussia, were inevitable. A step so unexpected as this naturally pre-

duced no common ſenſation upon the public mind and Britiſh Government. His Majeſty's Declaration, in anſwer to this Proclamation, ſoon followed; as it embraces all the arguments in the Pruſſian Document the production of the latter would be uſeleſs: beſides, the Britiſh State Paper embraces a variety of important objects, and is a complete Compendium of hiſtorical events.

DECLARATION.

"GEORGE THE THIRD, *by the Grace of God, of the united Kingdom of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, KING, *Defender of the Faith*; DUKE OF BRUNSWIC *and* LUNENBURGH; ARCH-TREASURER *and* ELECTOR *of the* HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, *&c.*:

"The Court of Pruſſia has avowed thoſe hoſtile deſigns which ſhe thought to conceal by her friendly profeſſions.

"The note *Verbale*, delivered on the 4th of April, by the Pruſſian Envoy, Baron Jacobi-Kloeſt, to the Britiſh Miniſtry, announces, that the Electorate of Hanover has been taken poſſeſſion of, and that the ports of the German Sea, and of Lubec, have been cloſed againſt the Britiſh flag.

"This Declaration gives the lie to all thoſe aſſurances, by which the Cabinet of Berlin has, hitherto, endeavoured to cloak its proceedings: to which it, moreover, adds the pretenſion, that his Pruſſian Majeſty has acquired, by his ſyſtem of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the Northern Powers!

"Thus actually diſpoſſeſſed of the ancient Inheritance of my Family, and inſulted in my rights as a Sovereign, I have ordered thoſe meaſures to be taken which the honour of my Crown requires: but I ſtill owe it to myſelf, to Europe, and to my ſubjects, to make a public declaration of my ſentiments, as Elector of Brunſwic Lunenburgh, upon the unjuſt uſurpation of my German poſſeſſions.

"It is not neceſſary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations or to the laws of the German Empire;

their infraction is too evident to be required to be proved. It is the moſt ſacred principles of good faith, of honour, and, in fact, of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal ſafety of different ſtates among themſelves, and of each civil ſociety in itſelf, repoſe, which are trodden under foot in ſuch a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cauſe the facts to be laid before them, which are authenticated in the Narrative which I have ordered to be prepared.

"The proceedings of the Court of Berlin, when the Electorate was occupied by its troops in 1804; its conduct, far from being friendly, during the negotiation for the Indemnities, which followed the peace of Luneville; the declaration which it made when France prepared to invade the Electorate; and, laſtly, the burthenſome conditions under which it endeavoured to cauſe it to be evacuated, to ſubſtitute her own troops inſtead of thoſe of France, had given too many proofs to the Government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all ſort of intervention on the part of this Power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a diſpute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition concerted between Great Britain, Ruſſia, and Sweden, gave the Pruſſian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the Electorate.

"This ſtep was accompanied by the moſt friendly proteſtations on the part of Pruſſia: ſhe invited the Hanoverian Government to reſume its functions in my name and to collect the wreck of the army.

"The country, already ſo unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requiſitions extorted by the Pruſſian corps, without the leaſt regard to the ſituation in which the French left it.

"After the unfortunate reſult of the campaign of the Allies in the South of the Empire, an attack in the North was to be expected. His Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia, to

obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the Convention of Potsdam, his troops, under Count de Tolstoy, and the corps of General Benningsen, under the orders of his Prussian Majesty, and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect: this, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The Secret Treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by Count Haugwitz and the French General Duroc, the 15th of December, 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which Count Haugwitz was to make to her in consequence of the Convention of Potsdam.

"Seven days after (December 22) the Cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador the arrangements to be taken, in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the Allied Armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, Lieutenant-colonel Baron de Krusemark, with a letter to the Hanoverian Government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hameln.

"It was necessary to concur in this arrangement, which was was only provisionally terminated the 4th of January) because it was to prevent the French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negotiation.

"Was the Court of Berlin, then, ignorant in what manner Count Haugwitz had concluded this negotiation? Did it not know, before the signature of the Treaty, what would be the end of it? or, did that Minister dispose as he pleased of the good faith of his Master?

"It was on the 27th January that the Cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian Government, 'That, in

consequence of a treaty signed and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops; that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian Majesty and to his exclusive administration.' The Hanoverian Government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian Commission of Administration, excluding all foreign reference!

"The Dispatch, addressed the 25th of January to the Prussian Minister, and intended to justify this proceeding, was signed with the King of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words: 'I think it unnecessary to observe, how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness of the country and its inhabitants, and, by that means, satisfactory to his Britannic Majesty, to whom I desire nothing more than to give, in this instance, as in all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power.'

"The experience of the past, and a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my Electoral Government was instructed not to enter into any negotiation, the object of which might have been, to avoid a new French invasion by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.

"The Protest made upon this occasion, by my Electoral Minister of State, was ineffectual—The King of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked, and his measures were executed without the least regard.

"It was too easy to foresee, that Count Haugwitz would find means, at Paris, to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, announced here as ratified by the Contracting Parties, to its original intention.

"This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation, according to the Treaty of December 15, the very day that Marquis De Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the Articles agreed upon at Vienna!

"The Answer, returned by the British Cabinet to the Communication of January 25, did not arrive at Berlin until after the Minister of State, Baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British Envoy the hostile measures, which have compelled me to suspend my relations with a Court which could so far forget itself.

"The Prussian Note, of April 4th, can furnish no good arguments to establish an unjustifiable measure:

"It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia!—This disposition is no further sincere than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The Note delivered by the Cabinet of Berlin to the French Minister, on the 14th of October, at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges, that the conduct which she had followed to that time had proved of advantage to France.

"Her actions had much less pretensions to the character of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops, who seized on the Electorate of Hanover, a passage through the Prussian territory, she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the Emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies.

"France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.

"She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia

would terminate; which, in fact, appeared to be ſtifled when his Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia engaged in a perſonal communi ation with the King.

"Pruſſia then demanded ſubſidies of Great Britain, which were promiſed to her; and ſhe ſigned the Convention of Potſdam, the conditions of which ſhe would, doubtleſs, have been more diſpoſed to fulfil, if I could have ſo far forgotten my duty, as to conſent to the propoſition of ceding the Electorate of Hanover for ſome Pruſſian province.

"Pruſſia affirms, that, from the events of the war, ſhe has not had the choice of means to ſecure the ſafety of its Monarchy and of the States of the North: ſhe wiſhes to make it appear, that ſhe has been compelled to aggrandize herſelf, and to become the inſtrument, rather than the object of the vengeance, of my enemies.

"Such an avowal does not become a great power. All Europe knows, that it depended on Pruſſia, before the Battle of Auſterlitz, to give repoſe to Europe, if ſhe had taken the part which her real intereſts and the outraged honour of her Monarchy dictated to her: ſhe can no longer be excuſed, after having miſſed ſuch an opportunity: and, even ſince the event of the 2d December, did ſhe not command an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, who ſtill remember the victories it obtained under the great Frederic; which was in the beſt diſpoſitions and ſupported by the whole Ruſſian army? two corps of which were actually under the command of the King of Pruſſia! She would, without doubt, have been ſubject to certain riſks; but ſhe found herſelf in a ſituation, when every danger muſt be encountered to ſave the honour of the State. The prince who heſitates in making a choice deſtroys the principle which ſerves as the baſis of a military monarchy; and Pruſſia ought, already, to begin to feel the ſacrifice ſhe has made of her independence.

"The Note of April 4th affirms, 'That France had con-

ſidered the Electorate as its conqueſt, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive diſpoſal of it."'

"The Electorate of Hanover, as an integral part of the Germanic Empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheleſs, it has been unjuſtly invaded by that power, which has, notwithſtanding, frequently indicated the object for which ſhe was diſpoſed to reſtore it.

"France was, at length, compelled to abandon the country, and forty thouſand of my troops, and thoſe of my Allies, were eſtabliſhed there, when the Count De Haugwitz ſigned the Treaty which diſpoſes of my ſtates! It is true, that the Ruſſian corps was then at the diſpoſal of his Pruſſian Majeſty; but its Chief, with the genuine ſpirit of an honourable man, was not the leſs determined to fight, if the Allies of his Maſter were attacked: we ſhall not ſpeak of the French garriſon which remained at Hameln, inſufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being beſieged, when the promiſes of Pruſſia cauſed the plan to be abandoned.

"The intention of France to diſpoſe definitively of the Electorate, would have been contrary to the aſſertion ſhe has ſo often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the uſage of war, ſince even a conqueſt is not definitively diſpoſed of before a peace; and, particularly, at a moment when a wiſh might exiſt to manifeſt a pacific diſpoſition.

"Pruſſia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of oppoſing the return of my enemies to the Electorate. Her power furniſhes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the intereſts ſhe defends; but it is difficult to conceive in what light Pruſſia pretends that her meaſures removed troops that are ſtrangers to the Electorate, and enſured the repoſe of the North. Her troops, in conſequence of the treacherous

conduct of her Cabinet, will remain as much ſtrangers to the Electorate as the French troops.

"Pruſſia ſhould not ſpeak of her ſacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandiſe herſelf, unleſs ſhe feels the loſs of her independence to be ſuch, and how much ſhe has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldeſt poſſeſſions of her Houſe, and of ſubjects who implored, in vain, her aſſiſtance. Beſides, her ſacrifices have no connexion with my ſyſtem of policy, and confer no right on her to uſurp the government of my German ſubjects, whoſe fidelity nothing has, hitherto, ſhaken, and which they will retain towards my perſon, and a family of Princes, who, for many ages, have only ſought their happineſs.

"It is evident that the conduct of the Court of Berlin, is not the free expreſſion of the will of its Sovereign, but the conſequence of the influence exerciſed by my enemies in the Cabinet of that Prince. All the Courts, and all the States, however, who can judge of circumſtances, and all that they owe to the ſyſtem adopted by the Court of Berlin, will agree, that the act committed againſt a Sovereign united to his Pruſſian Majeſty by the ties of blood, and, until now, by thoſe of friendſhip, places the ſafety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hoſtility on the part of a power with which one might be at open war.

"Convinced of the juſtice of my cauſe, I make my appeal to all the powers of Europe, who are intereſted in reſiſting the conſolidation of a ſyſtem, which, by threatening the political exiſtence of an integral part of the German Empire, brings into queſtion the ſecurity of the whole. I demand, moſt earneſtly, the conſtitutional aid, which is due to me as Elector, from the Empire, its auguſt Head, as well as Ruſſia and Sweden, the Powers who have guaranteed its Conſtitution, and who have already manifeſted, and ſtill continue to manifeſt, the moſt honourable diſpoſition for the preſervation of my States.

"Laſtly, I proteſt in the moſt ſolemn manner, for myſelf and my heirs, againſt every encroachment on my rights

in the Electorate of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in the quality of Elector, the Declaration made, by the Miniſter of my Crown, at the Court of Berlin; that no advantage ariſing from political arrangements, much leſs any offer whatever of indemnity, or equivalent, ſhall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian ſubjects, ſo as to yield my conſent to the alienation of my Electorate.

Given at the Palace of Windſor, the 20th day of April, 1806, in the 46th Year of my Reign.

(L. S.) "GEORGE R."

CHAPTER XIX.

Death of Marquis Cornwallis.—Conſequence of Buonaparté's Viſit at Wirtemberg.—The French Troops take Poſſeſſion of Anſpach. Reflections.—Dignities conferred on Murat, Berthier, &c.—Joſeph Buonaparté crowned King of Naples.—The French occupy Dalmatia.—The French Expoſé.—Its importance.—Affairs between England and Pruſſia.—State of Holland, Anſpach, Neufchatel.—The Ruſſians obtain Caſtel Nuovo, through the Treachery of the Auſtrian General, Brady.—Brannau retained.—Naples.—Conſtantinople, &c.

THE next calamity ſubſequent to the deaths of Nelſon and Pitt, was that of the Marquis Cornwallis, which occurred in the month of October preceding, at Ghagepaore, about one thouſand miles from Calcutta. His Lordſhip left Calcutta to take the perſonal command of the army; and, as he preferred going by water, it was, in fact, undertaking a longer voyage than the one he had juſt completed. By being confined in a boat he was prevented from uſing his uſual exerciſe, which, with the extreme heat of the weather, deprived him of his appetite. Though reduced to extreme debility, he ſtill preſſed forward; but, being, at length, obliged to be put aſhore, he expired at Ghagepoare; he expired to the unſpeakable regret of the whole Indian community; as it gave a ſudden damp to all the expectations entertained of the reſtoration of a ſpeedy peace.

After the return of Napoleon from viſiting the

Court of Wirtemberg at Stutgardt, it seems, some expressions made use of in the *Moniteur*, relative to the dignity and personal accomplishments of our Sovereign's daughter, during Napoleon's stay there, gave the English prisoners such an idea of his gallantry; that, thinking he could not deny anything to a lady, they solicited her to intercede with him, for their liberation, but without success. The following was her Answer to their

ADDRESS.

"GENTLEMEN! Stutgardt, Nov. 11, 1805.

"You only do justice to my feelings, in being convinced that I take a very sincere part in the misfortunes of my Countrymen; and should be very desirous to assist them, did my power equal my good will. But I am sorry that you have deceived yourselves with fallacious hopes, that I could take any steps towards obtaining you leave to return to England. Any polite attentions shewn to me by the Emperor of the French during his stay at Louisbourg, do not authorise me to interfere in a business which must be settled between the two Governments. Though I cannot come forward as I could wish to do on this occasion, I beg you will be convinced of the regard with which I am, Gentlemen, your Friend,

"CHARLOTTE, Electress of Wirtemberg."

But his Britannic Majesty's Declaration did not by any means put an end to the crooked policy of Prussia; a few days more put us in possession of fresh complaints: the following Document created no small surprise:

PROCLAMATION

From GENERAL BERNADOTTE *to the Inhabitants of the Country of Anspach.*

Head-quarters at Anspach, Feb. 24.

"In consequence of a Treaty, concluded between France

and Pruſſia, his Pruſſian Majeſty has conſented to cede Anſpach to the King of Bavaria; and the occupation of this country, conformably to the ſaid Treaty, was to take place at the ſame moment that the troops of the King of Pruſſia were to take poſſeſſion of Hanover. The Pruſſians having occupied the Electorate, I have received orders to proceed to the occupation of Anſpach. The revenues and the reſources of the country ſhall be put in ſequeſtration, for the maintenance of the troops which ſhall occupy it, during the time which ſhall be judged neceſſary.

"The army, the command of which is entruſted to me, ſhall obſerve ſtrict diſcipline; and I will puniſh, with all the rigour of the laws, every ſoldier who ſhall deſert, or who ſhall diſturb the tranquillity of the inhabitants.

"On my part, I have reaſon to hope that the people of Anſpach will receive, as they ought, the troops under my orders.

"BERNADOTTE."

The conduct of Pruſſia, however, began now to develope itſelf; and ſeveral perſons, likewiſe, began to attach credit to what a political Writer had aſſerted, ſeveral months previous to this circumſtance, viz.: "That before the expiration of a very ſhort period, either the Pruſſians muſt march to Paris, or the French would march to Berlin." The latter was ſtill the moſt wiſhed for: it was juſtly obſerved of the King of Pruſſia, that his neutrality had firſt ruined the common cauſe; and yet, after contributing to its ruin, he claimed a ſhare of the ſpoil! In the meanwhile, the French Emperor continued daily gaining ſtrength and extending his influence: his brother Joſeph was proclaimed, and accepted, King of Naples; Murat was inveſted with the Dutchies of Cleves and Berg; while another decree transferred the complete ſovereignty of Neufchatel to Marſhal

Berthier, and the principality of Guaſtalla on her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Paulina, and her ſpouſe, the Prince Borgheſe. Of the firſt, it was obſerved, "the ſafeguard of an important part of the frontiers of his Majeſty's Empire, will be entruſted to Prince Murat: can his Majeſty place it in better hands?" The States of Parma and Plaiſance, Venice, and the little Republic of Lucca, were all put under new arrangements by this new Decree of the Thuilleries, in March 1806. About this time, alſo, the French troops took poſſeſſion of the diſtant province of Dalmatia; by which means an eaſy acceſs to the Turkiſh provinces was at all times ſecured, and Auſtria, in a manner, hemmed in by her natural enemy.

Nearly at the ſame period, the practice of giving the public an *Expoſe*, or an official ſtatement of the public affairs, was firſt introduced by the French Government, and a monthly repetition of it promiſed, from the ſame authority: this, it was then obſerved, "would throw ſome light upon the labyrinth of falſe reports, by which the lawful ſpeculations of fair and honeſt merchants might otherwiſe be injured." Such an introduction did not fail exciting a conſiderable intereſt in theſe Papers. The preſent will be found both political and hiſtorical; and, for its brevity in the latter point of view, peculiarly intereſting.

FRENCH EXPOSE.

Paris, April 18.

"England has declared war againſt Pruſſia! All the King's ſhips have received orders to attack the Pruſſian veſſels, and letters of marque have been iſſued to privateers. Is this a juſt proceeding on the part of the Engliſh Government? is it a politic one? Theſe are queſtions

which it is not our intention to examine. It is sufficient for us to discover, that this measure is advantageous to France; that one of its first consequences will be, to shut the North against the English trade; and that there is little wisdom on the part of England in acting so towards a considerable power, whom she forces into a nearer connexion with France; and whom she determines to remove from her councils the agents and the influence of England. France and Prussia united, can, if they please, shut the Sound. If England had learned how to accommodate her policy to circumstances, she would have maintained her party and her creatures in credit at Berlin. She would have rendered the blockade of the ports of the North less severe. She would have, in fact, preserved the advantage which she derives from the Prussian flag; for commerce has occasion for intermediate agents between the merchant and the consumer. But, however it may be, we cannot consider this new political event but as tending to accelerate peace; for, assuredly, Prussia is neither a weak enemy for England nor a weak Ally for France. We know, that there are persons who accustom themselves with difficulty to the idea of these connexions between France and Prussia; but they do not see, that the hesitation, which was first manifested by the latter Cabinet, depended upon temporary circumstances, which have neither altered the principles of the King, nor those of his most faithful and intelligent servants. If there was anything which gave offence to France, it could only be imputed to a frantic Minister, who was sold to England, who was formerly in her service, and who quitted it for reasons which the dignity of this Paper will not allow us to mention. It, perhaps, may be supposed, that England, in the new circumstances in which she finds herself with regard to Prussia, had no medium left her, and could not avoid declaring war. But the occupation of Hanover by Prussia was the only mean of preventing the French from returning to that country; and, if they had returned, the freedom

of the Engliſh trade would not have been the greater. It may be ſaid, that 'Pruſſia has not only ſhut the ports of the Elbe and the Weſer, as they were by the French, but that the occupation was made in the name of the King, and in the ſame form, as if he had determined to annex this fine province to his vaſt monarchy.' However, there is nothing in fact to prove that this was the intention of Pruſſia; and it is very poſſible, that the ceſſion of Cleves, Anſpach, and Neufchatel, may relate to ſome other principles of arrangement, ſince the population of all the three does not equal a fifth of the population of Hanover. Some diſcuſſion, therefore, might have taken place between Pruſſia and England; and the wiſeſt courſe would have been, not to have begun by declaring war. Suppoſing occupation to be equal to final incorporation, England, inſtead of avoiding that conſequence, makes it more certain; for, whatever loſſes the Pruſſian trade may experience, during two or three years war, ſhe will be indemnified by the more conſiderable loſs which the trade of her enemy will ſuſtain; and England ſubmits to theſe loſſes for an intereſt which the Engliſh nation has always diſowned.—It has always conſidered Hanover as a foreign property, ſolely belonging to the Houſe of Brunſwic: how happens it, that it has ſo ſuddenly changed its principles in this reſpect?

"It appears, that M. Schimmelpenninck, the Grand Penſionary of Holland, has entirely loſt his ſight.—Who is to be his ſucceſſor? What effect will be produced by this change in the magiſtracy? theſe queſtions excite the attention and anxiety of all the Dutch who are ſincerely attached to the country. It is well known, that the Emperor never gave any poſitive ſanction to the late changes in the conſtitution of that country; and that he ſaid, on that occaſion, that the proſperity and liberty of nations could only be aſſured by two modes of government; either a tempered and conſtitutional Monarchy; or a Republic, conſtituted according to the theory of liberty, and which ſhould be the true organ of the public will. All nations

cannot, with ſafety, leave to the people the choice of their repreſentatives; and when a nation has to apprehend the effects of aſſembling the people; when the advantages which it expects are leſs than the inconveniencies which it foreſees; ſuch a nation, which cannot find protection under a Republican form of government, has recourſe to the principles of a good and prudent Monarch. Under the preſent conſtitution of Holland, the Grand Penſionary has more power than the King has in England: he has even more than the Emperor has in France, or than any ſovereign has in any country: and, what is without example, in a Republic, their High Mightineſſes, or the Repreſentative Bodies, have been nominated by the Grand Penſionary! The defect of this conſtitution cannot eſcape the obſervation of the ſagacious. That cannot be called a Republic, where the repreſentative and legiſlative bodies are not nominated by the electors: and if there be any fear of the electors, it will be beſt to renounce at once the Republican form of government: a government, which neither having the advantages of a Republic nor of a Monarchy, combines all the inconveniencies of both, ſhould not be abſolutely preſcribed. Such being the ſituation of Holland, ſhe muſt be a gainer by any changes that ſhe muſt make in her conſtitution. If the landholders, the merchants, the enlightened men, are of opinion, that they can have a repreſentation made by the choice of the people, without diſtinction of claſſes or religion, they will create a ſyſtem much more proper than the preſent one. If that be not their opinion, and that they think it neceſſary to have recourſe to a conſtitutional Monarchy, they will do that which will be more advantageous to their country than the preſervation of their exiſting conſtitution can be. It is their duty to examine their ſituation, to judge of the circumſtances in which they are placed, and to chooſe, between the two ſyſtems, that which is beſt ſuited to them, and the moſt likely to eſtabliſh, on a ſolid foundation, the public proſperity and liberty.

"Bavaria has taken poſſeſſion of the Margravate of Anſpach, and has ceded to France the Dutchy of Berg, which, united with that of Cleves, is ſettled upon Prince Joachim, the Grand Admiral of the Empire. Weſel is a ſtrong fortreſs on our frontiers. The Dutchy of Cleves gives us an advantageous point of contact with Holland; and France, for the future, will only find, on the right bank of the Rhine, princes who are allied by blood to the Imperial Family.

"General Oudinot has taken poſſeſſion of the countries of Neufchatel and Valengin. He found thoſe countries loaded with Engliſh merchandiſe, heaped there by the merchants of Switzerland, and principally by thoſe of Baſle. Of theſe the French army has taken to the amount of many millions: all the banks of the Lake of Neufchatel were covered with Engliſh manufactures. This circumſtance juſtifies all the prohibitory meaſures which may be taken with regard to Switzerland.—That country is little more, at this moment, than a warehouſe for Engliſh goods: when it ſhall be cleared of theſe manufactures, we ſhall, perhaps, have the means of giving a new check to our enemy. Is it poſſible that the Landamman was not ſtruck with the danger to which he expoſed the country? Who will protect Baſle from a viſit from the French army? Does this magiſtrate, who ſees ſmuggling carried on by wholeſale under his eyes, ſuppoſe that he is not reſponſible? If the French conſider theſe depôts of prohibited goods, ſo publicly made, and to ſuch great extent, a real act of hoſtility—if the French Government multiplies prohibitory laws between Switzerland, France, and Italy, will not the Landamman be the cauſe of it? and will not all the complaints that the Swiſs may make be unjuſt and ill-founded?

"Dalmatia is occupied by the French army: it is ſeparated from the mouth of the Cataro by the Republic of Raguſa: the country is mountainous, and the roads are bad. The French troops had arrived at Raguſa when the

Fort of Caſtel Nuovo was delivered to 300 Ruſſians by General Brady, who commanded 2,000 Auſtrians. This general, whoſe anceſtors were Engliſh, has been wanting in reſpect to France, and has betrayed his Maſter. Upon receiving this information, Marſhal Berthier gave orders, that Brannau, which defends the frontier of the Inn, and which was to have been given up on the 1ſt of April, ſhould not be reſtored, and that it ſhould be again garriſoned. The diviſion of the Grand Army, which was on its way to France, has halted. The priſoners of war, that were to have been ſent back to Germany, have been detained until further orders, in the places at which they were.

"This outrage offered by Ruſſia, to the Auſtrian flag and arms is the more inconceivable, becauſe the Ruſſians are at Corfu, draw their proviſions from the ports of Trieſte and Fiume, a free communication with which has not been prohibited. The Court of Vienna has ordered that General Brady ſhould be arreſted and tried. It has expreſſed its diſſatisfaction to Ruſſia. It will cauſe Caſtel Nuovo, and the mouths of the Cataro, to be delivered up to France, without having occaſion to reply by arms to this act of hoſtility.

"The Ruſſians have evacuated Hanover, and returned home. The army which the Emperor Alexander commanded has alſo returned to Ruſſia. After all the loſſes which it ſuſtained, it is very natural that it ſhould repair them by recruiting. A part of the troops which were at Corfu have returned to the Boſphorus, with General Laſcy. A conſiderable part of thoſe that were in Poland are marching towards Choczim and the Crimea. The illuſion, with reſpect to the Ruſſian armies, is no more. The French army which, in two months, diſſipated the Third Coalition, was then only on the peace eſtabliſhment: at the end of the three months, which have ſince elapſed, it finds itſelf on the war eſtabliſhment! France has nothing to fear from all the forces of Europe; but no perſon will

be able to form a Fourth Coalition. England knows full well that it would be money thrown away. She reflects, with terror, that the First Coalition, which lasted five years, made France mistress of Holland, Belgium, the Rhine, and all the Cisalpine country; that the Second Coalition, which only lasted two years, gave to France Piedmont and Switzerland; that the Third, which only lasted three months, gave her Venice, Naples, and Genoa; that the least she could expect from a Fourth Coalition, would be Trieste and Fiume, and the eternal exclusion of the English from all the ports of Europe. Russia, recovered from the vain illusion by which she was deceived, well knows what thirty millions of people, scattered over an immense territory, and under the necessity of opposing the Persians, Turks, and Tartars, can do against forty millions of Frenchmen, united on the same platform, brave, active, and intelligent, and more capable of conquering Russia than the Russians are of conquering France.

"English, Russian, and Sardinian envoys, and a knot of malcontents, from all the countries in the world, had fixed on Rome as the centre of their machinations. The Emperor required, that they should be driven from thence; and that a sovereign, placed in his Empire, should do nothing contrary to the safety of the Armies of Naples and Italy. The first care of an army should always be, not to allow itself to be surrounded, either by spies or those who encourage desertion. This demand gave rise to many Consistories; when the persons who were the objects of it did justice to themselves, and all evacuated Rome.

"The King of Naples is entirely conquered. The French troops are at Reggio, at Otranto, and at Taranto. Only a small body of the Neapolitan troops could embark and reach Sicily. That island is defended by 4,500 English: the presence of such enemies is an additional inducement for the French to go there. Gaeta, an insignificant fortress, with a garrison of 1,600 men, is besieged.

"The victory at Auſterlitz has produced as much ſenſation at Conſtantinople as at Paris; the exultation there was ſincere and univerſal. The government of the Porte is neither ignorant nor ſold.—There may, at Conſtantinople, be ſome traitors, but they are not numerous; whilſt, on the contrary, the multiplied meaſures of Ruſſia for ſapping the foundations of this vaſt Empire, has not eſcaped the notice of the real Ottomans: they are not ignorant that the protection of France can alone be ſufficient for the Porte; and that France is the only power intereſted in protecting her. The vicinity of the French in Dalmatia has inſpired them with the livelieſt joy. The Emperor Napoleon has been acknowledged Emperor. The Porte knows very well that its treaty with Ruſſia was extorted; and that it is rather a treaty between a deſpotic prince and his vaſſal, than between ſovereign and ſovereign; that it is not the French who have excited the Greeks and Servians to inſurrection, whoſe ſhips of war are anchored before Conſtantinople; and who are continually creating commotions in the Morea. This new attitude of the Porte has produced much uneaſineſs at St. Peterſburgh; and, if the Porte ſhall be rouſed to acts of energy againſt Ruſſia, there will not be found between theſe two powers the great difference that may be ſuppoſed. The Muſſulman is brave; and, were he but directed and aſſiſted, he would triumph over the Muſcovite militia. It is not probable that the Porte will wiſh to go to war; but ſhe has a right to preſerve her independence, and to wiſh for protection againſt the inſults of M. Italinſky, every proceeding of whom, when he communicates with the Divan, is only calculated to excite hatred and indignation."

CHAPTER XX.

Capture of the Marengo and Admiral Linois.—War between Sweden and Pruſſia.—Swediſh Declaration.—Louis Buonaparté appointed King of Holland.—Beloved by the People, for removing ſinecure Placemen and Penſioners.—Extraordinary Declaration of Mr. Fox, in the Commons, relative to continental Affairs.—Official Obſervations in the Moniteur upon the ſame, &c. &c.—Reflections.

EARLY in the month of May we had the ſatisfaction of learning, that the Marengo, of 80 guns, Admiral Linois, and the Bellepoule of 40, had been taken, by the ſquadron under Sir John Borlaiſe Warren, on their return from the Eaſt Indies to France, after a ſhort engagement; in which Admiral Linois ſtruck to the London, of 98 guns, and the Amazon frigate. Theſe veſſels had done great injury to Britiſh commerce in that quarter of the world. The chagrin experienced at Paris, on this freſh ſubject of mortification, was not trivial; it gave birth to the following paragraph, which appeared in the French papers.

"The aſtoniſhment of the public mind was conſiderable, upon hearing that the Marengo and the Bellepoule were taken, by an Engliſh ſhip of the line and a frigate. In vain it was objected, that the Engliſh ſhip was a three decker, as it is a clear caſe that no Engliſh ſhip alone ever captured a French ſhip; and, much leſs, a ſhip that had been three years at ſea, and whoſe crew was in the beſt ſtate of if-

cipline. Of courſe it was with increaſed ſatisfaction, that the people were informed, that the firſt account of this affair, publiſhed by the Engliſh, was falſe. Admiral Linois fell in with Admiral Warren's ſquadron in the night: he would very eaſily have got rid of the London; but two other ſhips of the line, the Achilles and the Ramillies, coming up, he was compelled to ſtrike."

The next affair of importance, as reſulting from the conduct of Pruſſia, was the commencement of a war between that power, and the King of Sweden. Swediſh troops, among others, had long been employed in the North of Germany, to guard, for a certain power, the precious Electorate of Hanover! But the following State Paper contains a compendious Hiſtory of the cauſes of this movement: to which it only need to be added, that, after the exchange of a few ſhots, and the killing of a very ſmall number of men, the Swediſh troops thought proper to commence their retreat to Pomerania: this happened about the 20th of April.

SWEDISH DECLARATION.

"From the moment his Swediſh Majeſty had determined upon taking a part in the Coalition againſt the uſurpations of Napoleon Buonaparté, his Majeſty had fixed his attention upon the preſervation of the Electoral poſſeſſions of the King of England upon the continent, which had been evacuated by the French troops. Ready to enter them with a Swediſh and Ruſſian army, united under his orders, his Majeſty haſtened, upon the firſt intelligence of the movement of a Pruſſian corps towards that country, to enquire into the intentions of his Pruſſian Majeſty, and, in full confidence, to demand of him, whether the march of his troops had the ſame object as that of the Combined Army; namely,

that of restoring the Electorate of Hanover to its legitimate possessor, and, in that case, to concert with his Prussian Majesty the joint measures to be taken. The King of Prussia, from that period, evaded entering into any explanation relative to this important object, and that in a manner far from friendly. The irresolution, since manifested by this Sovereign, in joining the cause of the Allies, could not but tend to augment his Majesty's suspicion; and his Majesty did not hesitate to anticipate events, in causing it to be publicly made known at a period when the intentions of the Court of Prussia, with respect to the States of his Britannic Majesty, could only be matter of conjecture, that the country of Lauenburgh should still remain under the protection of the Swedish troops until a convention for that purpose was concluded with the King of England. It was the sole right of this Monarch only, as proprietor of the country, to decide upon the future fate of his Hereditary States: every arrangement, therefore, relative thereunto, between France and Prussia, was inadmissible.

"It was, notwithstanding, upon this arrangement, that the King of Prussia, in his Proclamation of January 27th, which was published soon after, endeavoured to assert his right to the complete occupation of the Electorate of Hanover. The reiterated protestations, made by the Court of Berlin on this occasion, of being induced to take this step merely to save the country from greater calamities, ought to have been received as a guarantee for its future independence. This language, however, did not last long; instead of regarding the Electorate as a dep\u00f4t till the return of a general peace, as his Prussian Majesty had solemnly announced, in the Proclamation before cited, a new Proclamation, issued from Berlin, dated April 1st, announced, on the contrary, the definitive union of these provinces to the Prussian Monarchy; a measure which the Court of Berlin pretended was founded upon the right of conquest, and a formal treaty with France.

"In this state of things, the King, faithful to his en-

gagements with his Britannic Majesty, thought he could not use too much circumspection, when the abandoning of the German States of his Ally became the subject of consideration; which, being once delivered from the presence of the Swedish troops, must soon have fallen under the power of the Prussians. His Majesty, therefore, confining himself to the protection of the countries on this side of the Elbe, on his departure from Ratsburg, declared, that having left in this Dutchy a corps of Swedes, under the orders of his *aide-de-camp*, general commandant, Count Lowenhielm, he should look upon any attack upon these troops, and the independence of the country, as a measure of aggression against his own states. This Declaration has been repeatedly made; and, particularly, in the Letter of Count Lowenhielm, dated April 13th, to the Prussian military commandants in Hanover, and the country of Mark. Count Lowenhielm said expressly, that he had the strictest orders to defend Lauenburg against any foreign troops that should attempt to enter it. Notwithstanding this, a detached corps passed that frontier at Marienstett, on the 23d of this month, and, in spite of the brave resistance of the Swedish troops, by the superiority of their numbers, they took forcible possession of the country.

"Under the present circumstances, the King could not regard this violent measure otherwise than as an act of hostility on the part of his Prussian Majesty; consequently, he has ordered an embargo to be laid upon all the Prussian vessels in the Swedish ports.

"If his Majesty has so long delayed to resent the outrages committed upon him and his Allies by the Court of Berlin, it has arisen from his Majesty's constant wish to avoid every thing that might lead to a rupture as long as possible. The intimate connexion subsisting between the King of Prussia and Napoleon Buonaparté, the declared enemy of the Three Allied Courts; the exclusion of the English commerce from the ports and rivers of the North of Germany, together with the unjust authority established

in the Electorate of Hanover—all these were sufficient indications of the real system of his said Majesty; and the attack which has been just made upon the Swedish troops in Lauenburg has put the last seal to it."

The duplicity of Prussia was not less resented in its own capital than in foreign parts; there, as the disaffected could not vent their spleen upon the Monarch, they attacked the Minister: the windows of Count Haugwitz's house having been broken three times successively, it was, at length, found necessary to have a military patrole, to prevent a repetition of these outrages.

In the meanwhile, the plan of Napoleon, for new modelling the Germanic Empire, was going on apace; its object was to deprive the Emperor Francis of the least shadow of authority over any of the princes, ecclesiastical or secular. It was, also, determined that Louis Buonaparté should be the new King of Holland. This change, it was thought, the Dutch, one of the oldest and most celebrated Republics in Europe, would never submit to; but the situation was new; and, having no remedy, the change, which could not be for the worst, was endured without a murmur. The new King took possession almost without ceremony, as the new Constitutional Code; and the following short Proclamation, was nearly all that was said on the occasion: the Dutchmen nodded assent, replenished their pipes, and every thing went on as before!

"LOUIS NAPOLEON, *by the Grace of God, and the constitutional Laws of the State*, KING *of* HOLLAND.

"*To all whom it may concern, Health!*

"We publish and make known to all, That, with the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor and King, Napo-

Louis Napoleon Buonaparte.
King of Holland.

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leon, our illuſtrious Brother, we have aſſumed, and do aſſume the royal dignity of King of Holland; agreeably to the wiſhes of the people, to the conſtitutional laws, and to the treaty and mutual ratification, this day preſented to us by the Deputies of the Dutch Nation at Paris. On our coming to the throne, our moſt anxious care ſhall be to watch for the intereſts of the people: we ſhall always be ſolicitous to give them conſtant and unremitted proofs of our attention, preſerving, for that purpoſe, the liberty of all our ſubjects, with their rights, and continually employing ourſelves in promoting their welfare.

"The independence of the kingdom is guaranteed by his Majeſty the Emperor and King. The laws of the conſtitution, and our fixed determination, extend equally to all, for the ſecurity of their demands on the States, for their perſonal ſafety, and their liberty of conſcience.

"It is alſo agreed, that the Dutch language ſhall continue to be excluſively employed for all laws, proclamations, &c. without exception.

"The King and the Law ſhall extend equal protection to all the modes of religion profeſſed by the State; and the exerciſe of all religious worſhip, in all caſes to be performed within the walls of the different churches, the King being a Catholic; it is alſo ſtipulated, that he ſhall enjoy in his palaces, and in every place where he may fix his reſidence, the free and public exerciſe of his religion."

Louis, to his credit it may be affirmed, did not forget his promiſes. His new officers were laid under no ſmall reſponſibility for any neglect of duty; particularly, that of preventing any acceſs to his perſon by way of petition, &c. In fact, an Engliſh Gentleman, a recent traveller in Holland, has gone ſo far as to aſſert, that Louis is even beloved in that country for his affability and condeſcenſion; and, eſpecially, for removing a great number of penſioners and

ſinecure placemen from the ſhoulders of the people. What a leſſon for other ſovereigns to "go and do likewiſe!"

At home, while theſe tranſactions were paſſing on the continent, the friends of the new miniſtry, and, particularly, the partiſans of Mr. Fox, were in anxious expectation of ſeeing ſomething done by them in favour of peace. On the contrary, others were alarmed leſt Mr. Fox, from his well known diſapprobation of the war, whilſt out of place, ſhould ſacrifice the honour, or, rather, the intereſt of the country, after he had got into office. From all theſe apprehenſions, both parties were effectually relieved by the remarkable Speech of this popular Miniſter, in the Commons, on Friday the 30th of May, 1806. It was the immediate ſubject of panegyric in the old miniſterial papers, one of them obſerved: "He ſpoke with great animation and force of argument; and affirmed, in the moſt emphatic manner, that it would be diſgraceful for this country to remain merely in an inſulated ſtate, and that its importance in the ſcale of nations entitled it to continental connexions, which, to a certain extent, he conceived it to be our duty and intereſt to maintain. He ſpoke with much approbation of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of a balance of power, which he thought the policy of all countries ought to regard, particularly after the encroachments of France —For this purpoſe, in his opinion, it was neceſſary that we ſhould much increaſe our military eſtabliſhment; for, though our army was, doubtleſs, ſufficient for domeſtic ſecurity, it did not afford us power to give any effectual aſſiſtance to other countries, and to make that figure on the continent which became our national character."

It muſt be owned, his friends at home were ſurpriſed at hearing him talk of acting offenſively on the continent, of the neceſſity of Allies, and the balance of power. Others imputed the change of Mr. Fox's ſentiments to his change of ſituation; few imagined, however, that the ſeeds of a new continental war were ripening apace; that all the negotiations between Ruſſia and France, as well as thoſe between England and France, were to end in ſmoke! Even Napoleon and Talleyrand were deceived, or affected ſo to be, with reſpect to Pruſſia and Ruſſia; which, with other objects of importance, appeared from the following official obſervations, in the *Moniteur* of June 3d:

"The diſputes between Ruſſia and Auſtria are amicably adjuſted, and the mouths of the Cataro are evacuated by the Ruſſian troops.

"M. D'Oubril, who is ſent to Paris by his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, brought orders with him to this effect, which he communicated to M. Raſumowſky, the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Vienna, who immediately forwarded them, in order that the place ſhould be evacuated without loſs of time.

"In conſequence of this auſpicious intelligence, the French troops will immediately evacuate Germany; the fortreſs of Brannau will be reſtored to the Auſtrians, and the Treaty of Preſburgh literally fulfilled.

"If the affairs of the continent take a favourable direction, it will not be for the want of any exertion on the part of England to prevent it: ſhe has done every thing in her power to throw all again into confuſion. Who does not, in fact, ſee revealed the policy of England: to ſow diſcord and diſquiet among

the powers of the continent: to play the tyrant upon the ocean, in order that ſhe may carry on her commercial monopoly at pleaſure? This is the inceſſant object of theſe eternal enemies of nations: they know the value of the pound of blood of every nation in Europe."

Upon that paſſage in Mr. Fox's Speech of May 30th, wherein he expreſſed his opinion, that, ſhould a favourable opportunity occur, he would not object to riſk a part of our military force in recovering for Europe what had been loſt in the laſt campaign, it was remarked,

"This paſſage, is really extraordinary.—What does he (Mr. Fox) mean by acting offenſively upon the continent? What war is there on the continent? Who are the Allies of England in this war? Is it Pruſſia? But, if we rightly read the Declaration of England, ſhe has ordered the Pruſſian veſſels to be detained; and in that we cannot recogniſe a ſtipulation of alliance.—Is it Auſtria? but, before we can ſuppoſe Mr. Fox thinks ſo, we muſt ſet him down as ignorant of the Treaty of Preſburgh. Is it Ruſſia? We muſt alſo ſuppoſe, Mr. Fox does not know that which is known to almoſt all Europe at this day.—Let him be well perſuaded, that the Court of St. Peterſburgh does not know what ſhe herſelf has to fear from England upon the ſeas and in the Eaſt; and that ſhe is ignorant that the affront, which has been offered to her ambaſſador in China, has been produced by the intrigues of the Engliſh factory. We muſt ſuppoſe, in fact, that Mr. Fox is ignorant that the mouths of the Cataro have been reſtored to Auſtria; that Brannau is, in conſequence, reſtored to the Emperor of Germany; and that the Grand Army,

in the courſe of a few weeks, will be united in Paris, for the *fetes* which were intended to take place in the month of May. It is true, that the intrigues of the Engliſh retarded theſe *fetes* three months; but it would be eaſy for us to prove, that the power of France has been increaſed by the delay, and that her ſyſtem has been conſolidated. It is thus that the efforts of England always turn to our advantage.

"If ſhe will only make peace when ſhe ſhall have recovered all that ſhe has loſt on the continent, which, probably, means, when ſhe ſhall have effected the re-eſtabliſhment of the Stadtholder in Holland, of Auſtrian Belgium, of the Doges at Venice and Genoa, and of her victim at Naples, this declaration is by no means conſoling for the creditors of the Engliſh debt. Mr. Windham himſelf, excellent an officer as he is, knows, that it will require twenty campaigns to ſucceed to this extent; and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Princes, who owe their fall to nothing elſe than England, does not offer a very encouraging proſpect to the new Allies who would engage in this Fourth Coalition.

"But, if we are to believe theſe orators, their new military ſyſtem is to change every thing. What nonſenſe! At no period have armies, purely Engliſh, ever rendered themſelves conſpicuous on the continent. Thus the troops of the Black Prince were compoſed of Bretons, Gaſcons, Normans. Charles the Bad, the Dukes of Burgundy, the great Feudatories who betrayed their Prince, produced the ſucceſs of England. Thus the armies of Marlborough conſiſted of Dutch and Germans, and only a ſmall

number of Engliſh. It is true, the Duke of York commanded an army wholly Engliſh, when he appeared, in our days, before Dunkirk; but we know the reſult of the battle of Hondſcoote. It is true, that this ſame Prince commanded an army entirely Engliſh when he landed in Holland; but the retreat of Alkmaar will not be compared with that of the Ten Thouſand. It is true, that more lately, alſo, and in the laſt war, the Engliſh landed in Naples; but they only appeared there to overturn the throne; and, after having thus deſtroyed it, they did not honour its fall with a drop of their blood!

"They have alſo appeared in Hanover; but here their triumphs were limited to the power of re-embarking, an advantage which they owed ſolely to the King of Pruſſia; that Prince whom they treat, at this moment, with ſo little conſideration.

"Should it even be true, that England had conſiderable armies in the time of Louis XIV. and XV., we are to draw no concluſion from that reſpecting her actual military powers; ſhe had not then the great extent of poſſeſſions which now belong to her. Were her army as great as it has been, it would be annihilated by the eſtabliſhments which theſe detachments require. Thus, ſhe is obliged to keep forty regiments in the Eaſt Indies, ten in the Weſt, two at Malta, two at Gibraltar, &c. A nation of nine millions of people, which, before it can have a man for its own defence, is obliged to ſend fifty regiments to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to oppoſe the entire Indian population, the Negroes, the Canadians, and the yellow fever, can never be a military power in Europe; and, it is in theſe circumſtances that England has loſt 25,000 Hanoverian ſoldiers—a loſs which

ſhe will never repair. The Engliſh are laughing at the princes of Europe, when they ſuppoſe that governments are weak enough not to make theſe calculations; and not to ſee that a nation, which has occaſion for fifty regiments to defend its colonies, and an hundred and fifty thouſand ſailors to protect its commerce and maintain its ſquadrons, is incapable of any effort in continental affairs: beſides, theſe fine ſpeeches of England, when ſhe wiſhes to ſeduce cabinets and form coalitions, have never been juſtified by facts. Let us recal to our recollection what miniſters did at the time of the Firſt Coalition.—Inſtead of employing theſe means, which appear ſo powerful and formidable in the mouths of their ſpeakers, or their emiſſaries, the Engliſh attacked St. Domingo, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and ſeemed to have no other anxiety than to plunder the commerce of their friends as well as their enemies. In the Second Coalition, they went to Egypt, in place of fighting with their Allies on the plains of St. Domingo. In the Third, they went to the Cape of Good Hope, inſtead of throwing ten thouſand men more into the kingdom of Naples; and, when England acted thus, no one can ſay that ſhe acted ill, for ſhe could not act otherwiſe. As ſhe is obliged to pay conſiderable ſums to her Allies, ſhe has no other means of doing it than by plundering the trade of other powers.

"The Engliſh nation is brave; but it cannot be denied that the French nation has alſo its warlike bent. The armies of thoſe two countries muſt be in proportion to their reſpective populations; and upon this baſis it is clear, that the Engliſh army can only be to the French army in the proportion of one to

three. Beſides, to preſerve this proportion, it would be neceſſary that England ſhould abandon the idea of keeping up fifty regiments in both the Indies, and reduce, by one half, the hundred and fifty thouſand ſailors who are on board her fleets. But, with all Mr. Fox's eloquence, he will find it difficult to perſuade the Bank, the Indian Company, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this reduction of military force is a good calculation."

There is but too much truth in theſe obſervations; but they were not without their errors. Ruſſia was ſtill well affected to England, Auſtria the ſame; and Pruſſia, beginning to ſmart under the privations of commerce, and the conveniencies which her conduct towards England had deprived her of, was heartily tired of her new Ally, and the uſeleſs poſſeſſion of Hanover. Nor did the Writer of the *Moniteur*, when he talked of the Grand Army being collected at Paris, in the courſe of a few weeks, to celebrate the *fetes*, which had been retarded by the Engliſh three months, once imagine, that, before the recollection of them could have time to ſubſide, it would be neceſſary for the Emperor Napoleon again to put himſelf at the head of his legions, and to combat enemies at a greater diſtance from his Capital than ever; otherwiſe, he would not have releaſed all the Ruſſian ſhips in French ports, and ſuffered them to proceed home. M. D'Oubril, while at Paris, negotiated a ſeparate treaty of peace, which, in the end, the Emperor Alexander refuſed to ratify. In the meanwhile, the Britiſh miniſtry, and their partiſans, were too well acquainted with the real ſtate of affairs to be alarmed at this Treaty. The papers, under their influence, predicted, that the Emperor Alexander

would not ratify a treaty which did not include England in the negotiation, and they were right. But, after all, as D'Oubril was never cenſured by his magnanimous Employer for this pretended breach of his authority, ſome perſons thought they very clearly perceived, that the whole was only a contrivance to gain time, till Pruſſia, as a freſh member, ſhould come into the Coalition, and Ruſſia be in readineſs alſo to ſupport her. But, the manner in which this formidable Coalition was defeated, and even annihilated, by the rapidity of Napoleon's ſuperior tactics, and the uſual ardour of his troops, will be the ſubject of the ſucceeding chapters.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Siege of Gaeta.—Affairs of Naples.—Battle of Maida.—Deſtruction of a French Squadron at St. Domingo.—Of Jerome Buonaparté's Squadron on the American Coaſt.—Cape of Good Hope captured.—Mr. Fox's Diſcovery of a Propoſal to aſſaſſinate the French Emperor.—Lord Yarmouth becomes a Negotiator.—M. D'Oubril negotiates a ſepaiate Peace with France.—The Emperor of Ruſſia refuſes to ratify it.—Hopes of a new War entertained by England.—Embarraſſments of Pruſſia.—Negotiations broken off at Paris.—The News received with Joy at the Stock Exchange, &c.—Napoleon ſets out to join his Armies.

THOUGH Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples, had been ſtyled, "an inſignificant fortreſs" in the *Moniteur*, it ſtill remained a thorn in the ſide of the new King, Joſeph. A German, the Prince of Heſſe Philipſtahl, was the commandant, and he refuſed to obey the ſummons to ſurrender, ſent in by General Regnier. The commandant's activity was ſo indefatigable, that the valour with which the place was defended excited the attention and increaſed the ſatisfaction of all the enemies of France. A hundred pieces of cannon, with five mortars, were, at length, brought to bear upon the place; but it was ſeveral months, and not without a very great loſs on the part of the French, before the garriſon ſurrendered; when the Prince of Heſſe Philipſtahl, though wounded, ſucceeded in making his eſcape to the Iſland of Sicily.

The Ruſſian forces that had been in Naples were

Maj. Gen.
Sir John Stuart, K.B. & K.C.

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withdrawn to Corfu; ſtill the affections of the people were by no means attached to the new ſovereign: the Calabrians, in particular, were uncommonly inimical to the new order of things: the retaliation exerciſed by the French generals, probably, goaded them on to open inſurrection. In the meanwhile, the Britiſh troops in the Iſland of Sicily, being commanded by Sir James Stuart, who was not inſenſible to the progreſs of a hoſtile ſpirit upon the continent, was not long before they had an opportunity preſented, which led to an enterpriſe that will form a ſplendid figure in the future annals of Britiſh hiſtory. In the month of July, 1806, General Stuart embarked from Sicily, with a force of about 5,000 men, and landed at St. Euphemia, on the oppoſite ſhore. The French general, Regnier, though taken by ſurpriſe, was no ſooner informed of this landing, than he marched his troops, ſtationed at Reggio, and collected his ſcattered detachments on his way, to meet the Engliſh, in full confidence of ſucceſs. Having arrived within ten miles of their army, he encamped on the ſide of a woody hill, with a force, upon the whole, not leſs than 7,000 men. His flanks were ſtrengthened by an impervious underwood; and the Amato, a fordable river, the ſides of which were very marſhy, was in his front. On the 4th General Stuart approached this French force, over a ſpacious plain, which gave him an opportunity of obſerving their minuteſt motions. About nine o'clock in the morning, after ſome looſe firing on both ſides, to cover the manœuvrings of the two armies, the oppoſing fronts were warmly engaged. The right of the advanced line conſiſted of Lieutenant-colonel Kempt's battalion

of light infantry, with the light companies of ſeven other regiments, and 150 choſen battalion men, under Major Robinſon, who were oppoſed by the French regiment of St. Legere. A few rounds, it is ſaid, were fired reciprocally by both armies, at the diſtance of about one hundred yards; when, as if by mutual conſent, both parties advanced towards each other till their bayonets began to cloſe. At this momentous criſis, the enemy's courage forſook them; they broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. General Ackland availed himſelf of the opportunity to preſs with his brigade, which was upon the left of the light infantry, upon the French corps in front; this completed their diſmay and diſorder on the left, and covered the plain with their dead and wounded. In hopes of retrieving the victory, the French made a new effort on the right, where they were received with the moſt undaunted firmneſs by General Cole's brigade, and the grenadiers and 27th regiment, under Colonels Smith and O'Callaghan. The French cavalry, repelled ſucceſſively from before their front, attempted to turn their left; when Lieutenant Roſs, who had, that morning, landed from Meſſina, with the 20th regiment, and was coming to join the army, by a well directed fire, totally diſconcerted the laſt attempt of the French, who, aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, now retreated from the field in every direction. The ground was covered with dead and wounded, and 700 of the former were buried on the ſpot; a general, and a lieutenant-colonel, were among the latter, which amounted to 1,000. Several detachments, afterwards, ſurrendered priſoners of war; while the

loſs on the part of the Britiſh, according to "The London Gazette," conſiſted of 1 officer, 3 ſerjeants, 41 rank and file killed; 11 officers, 8 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, and 260 rank and file wounded! However, circumſtances did not permit the Engliſh to follow up theſe aſtoniſhing advantages, or to purſue the remainder of the enemy.

But what was moſt ſurprizing, the French Government never publiſhed any account of this affair, which has obtained the name of The Battle of Maida, nor yet paſſed any cenſure upon General Regnier, who loſt it. In fact, General Stuart did not even attempt to keep the ground he had gained; but, as it was obſerved here, "with that prudence which ſhould always accompany valour, reimbarked ſoon after, for Sicily;" ſo that this moſt ſplendid victory was attended by no permanent advantage, excepting the impreſſion it made of the diſcipline and bravery of Britiſh ſoldiers, which was of incalculable value.

The deſtruction of a French ſquadron, near St. Domingo, was another circumſtance which diſtinguiſhed 1806. Early in February they were diſcovered, near Ocean Bay, by Admiral Duckworth.—By judicious manœuvres he ſecured their being brought to action; his own force conſiſted of ſeven ſail of the line, that of the enemy of five. The French, notwithſtanding their inferior numbers, fought with great intrepidity, during two hours; at the end of which, their commander ran his ſhip, L'Imperiale, of 120 guns, on ſhore, in which he was followed by the captain of the Diomede: the three others, the Alexandre, the Brave, and the Egyptienne, ſtruck immediately, and were taken poſſeſſion of. The Diomede and L'Imperiale were, afterwards,

burnt by the Engliſh, whoſe ſucceſs was as complete as could be expected. Still another of the enemy's ſquadrons, under Admiral Guillamez, with Prince Jerome, remained unaccounted for: the latter had taken ſeveral tranſports from Gibraltar, with troops on board, and had done much damage in the Weſt Indies, at St. Kitt's, Montſerrat, and Nevis. In vain were they purſued by Admiral Cochrane; their ruin, however, was, at length, accompliſhed by the fury of the elements; a tremendous gale having ſeparated them, the French Admiral's ſhip with great difficulty made the Havannah. The Impeteux ran for the coaſt of North America, and was followed into the Bay of Cheſapeake, by the Belliſle and the Bellona, where ſhe run aſhore, and was burnt by the Melampus: the two remaining veſſels were, afterwards, deſtroyed by the Engliſh on the ſame coaſt, and the Caſtor was ſuppoſed to have foundered at ſea: while Prince Jerome, whoſe arrival in a Britiſh port was anticipated even with confidence and rapture, had the uſual fortune of his family, in arriving, in the Veteran, at Port L'Orient, in the month of Auguſt.

The next ſubject of good fortune was, the intelligence received of the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, by Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham: however, this was, in ſome meaſure, checked by the ultimate failure of the expedition againſt Buenos Ayres. At ſea, nothing further offered this year. But, though no ſword was yet drawn upon any part of the German continent, the enemies of France were not inactive: what they could not effect by *force* they now endeavoured to encompaſs by *fraud:* they choſe the preſs for their engine; and they found

bookſellers, whoſe weakneſs, or whoſe avarice, induced them to become their agents. Several perſons of this deſcription, reſiding in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, were apprehended by French troops, and carried to the fortreſs of Brannau. Among theſe, the caſe of Mr. John Palm was peculiar: he reſided at Nuremberg, and was the publiſher of a pamphlet, entitled, "Germany in the loweſt State of Degradation." At Braunau he was tried by a court martial, and found guilty of publiſhing a libel againſt the French Emperor, tending to miſlead the people of the South of Germany; this tribunal adjudged him to be ſhot in twenty-four hours! a ſentence abſolutely carried into execution. He had a family, for whom a ſubſcription was raiſed, in this and other countries; and which, if faithfully applied, would, probably, go very far towards alleviating the loſs of a parent and a huſband.

But, it has been obſerved, "that the new miniſtry had formed the reſolution of directing their views to the accompliſhment of a peace with France;" as a project, formed for aſſaſſinating the French Emperor, was communicated, by a foreigner, to Mr. Fox; he immediately tranſmitted to M. Talleyrand a ſtatement of the circumſtances, with ſome detail of his feelings on the occaſion; obſerving, that as an honeſt man, he thought himſelf bound to make this communication to the French Government; adding, that he would not ſend away the priſoner till time had been allowed for precaution againſt his attempts, and then to ſend him to ſome part of the continent as remote as poſſible from France. In a reſpectful reply to this Letter, by M. Talleyrand, is introduced, inofficially, an extract from the Emperor's Speech

to the Legiſlative Body, expreſſive of his wiſh for peace with England, and his readineſs to negotiate for it without a moment's delay, agreeably to the Treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox, on the 26th of February, in a Letter to M. Talleyrand, ſtates, that he had laid before the King, that part of his private Letter, relating to the pacific wiſhes of the French Government; and he expreſſed the ardent diſpoſition of the Britiſh Cabinet, to ſmooth the obſtacles in the way to peace, a baſis for which would be beſt formed by the reciprocal acknowledgment of the two Nations, that the peace ſhould be honourable, both for them and their Allies, and calculated to ſecure the future repoſe of Europe. But ſuch was the connexion between England and Ruſſia, that the Britiſh could not, or would not, conclude any treaty without conſulting the Emperor Alexander.

After his Majeſty's name had been thus introduced into the diſcuſſion, by Mr. Fox, the intercourſe began to aſſume an official aſpect. M. Talleyrand was authorized, by his Sovereign, to declare that France wiſhed for nothing that England was in poſſeſſion of, and was only deſirous of repoſe, and the unobſtructed exerciſe of her induſtry: that the Emperor adopted the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox, that the peace ſhould be honourable for the two Courts, and their reſpective Allies; that while he was ready to make every conceſſion which the naval preponderance of England could juſtly claim, he reaſonably expected in return, propoſals conformable to the honour of his crown, and the commercial rights of his dominions. But he conceived, that two enlightened and neighbouring Nations, would not do juſtice to their own dignity and wiſdom, in calling

for the intervention of a foreign and distant power in the discussion of the great interests by which they were divided.

Shortly after this, Lord Yarmouth, one of the gentlemen detained in France, at the commencement of the war, went from Verdun to Paris, at the request of the French Government, and was invested with powers as a diplomatic agent. In his first conversation with M. Talleyrand, the French minister specifically explained to him the reasons for not admitting Russia to negotiate in concert; soon after which his Lordship suggested that a medium might, probably, be discovered, by which this difficulty might be obviated. To this the French minister replied, that willing to give every facility for arranging the respective interests of the two powers, the British minister might be authorised by the Emperor Alexander, to stipulate also for him. What France meant by wanting nothing of Great Britain, it soon appeared, from the documents, was her willingness to agree to the *uti possedetis*, or, what each party possessed, with exchange, upon the ground of equivalents. Hanover being seized without due regard to the rights of war, Mr. Fox made it a point of honour to procure an agreement for its restoration, and this as a prelude to all negotiation; and it was even conceded to Lord Yarmouth, in his second interview, that, in consequence of the stress laid upon this object, by the British minister, Hanover should make no difficulty. In the same conference, the question relating to Sicily, was also proposed by Lord Yarmouth, to which M. Talleyrand replied, you have it, and we do not demand it from you.

But, while the negotiation was thought to be going on ſucceſsfully, the arrival of M. D'Oubril at Paris, with full powers to treat for a ſeparate peace, which being very ſoon concluded, Lord Lauderdale was appointed in conjunction with Lord Yarmouth. The French repreſented this Ruſſian treaty, as being of as much importance to them as a ſignal victory, and as entitling France to terms more advantageous than otherwiſe. However, as the Emperor Napoleon had committed himſelf upon certain points, they confeſſed they would remain untouched, Hanover would be ceded, Malta confirmed in full ſovereignty to England, as likewiſe the Cape, with an expreſs deſire that the Port, at leaſt part of it, ſhould be made free to all nations. At length, after various modifications of conditions, &c. the Engliſh Court had the pleaſure of learning that the Court of Ruſſia had refuſed to ratify the peace negotiated by M. D'Oubril with the French Government. The Engliſh negotiators immediately changed their language, declaring, they could only treat proviſionally; and, therefore, that any pacification between France and England, muſt be agreed not to have any effect till peace took place alſo between France and Ruſſia. But it cannot be doubted, that the hopes of a new war, indulged on the part of England, were at the bottom of theſe objections; and the peculiar circumſtances in which Pruſſia was placed at the time, favoured theſe hopes to ſuch a degree, as to render the proſpect of another war too precious an acquiſition to be placed, even for a moment, in competition with the doubtful iſſue of peace. Of courſe, upon the ninth of Auguſt, a Note was preſented by the Engliſh negotiator at Paris, in which he ſtated,

that the pretenſions of the French Government advanced in their laſt communication, being ſo incompatible with the baſis formerly propoſed by them, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale, had no other alternative left than to return to their own country, for which end they requeſted the neceſſary paſsports. However, ſtill another month had nearly revolved, before theſe were obtained, and the ambaſſadors were in readineſs to return. This rupture of the negotiation, which, at other times, would have been conſidered as the moſt afflicting, was hailed at our Stock Exchange, with the rudeſt and moſt ſavage demonſtrations of joy. The ſhoutings of theſe humane ſpeculators were not confined to the vicinity of their own money market, but by the influence of themſelves and their friends, the drivers of the ſtage-coaches were, on the ſame evening, ſent into the country with bunches of ribbands in their hats, with the words, "No Peace," in gilt letters! However, after the return of Lord Yarmouth to England, upon ſome altercation in the Houſe, he poſitively declared, that during the negotiation in which he was employed, "we might have made a ſafe and honourable peace with the French Emperor."

But to return to Pruſſia; it was ſoon underſtood by her, from the conferences at Paris, on the ſubject of peace, that the French Government made no ſcruple of giving up Hanover! This country had ſo long been the moſt favourable object of Pruſſian ambition, that the thoughts of parting with it, irritated the King of Pruſſia beyond meaſure. In the late poſſeſſion of that Electorate, permitted by the French, Pruſſia found ſhe was to be made a mere

dupe. She was offered, as it was obſerved, "Some frivolous ſubſtitute, ſo minute, however, as to excite the overwhelming conviction that ſhe had been treacherous for trifles, inſtead of any ſolid acquiſitions, and had gained ſcarcely any thing but the ruin of her honour. The bait ſhe had ſwallowed with all the voracity of unprincipled ambition, was now to be plucked from her vitals, amidſt the tortures of regret and mortification. The Cabinet of France, which had tempted her degradation, ſeemed now to deſpiſe her baſeneſs—to defy her power—laugh at her folly, and even exult in the expoſure of her infamy. But this was not the only ſource of her diſappointment; the Federation of the Rhine, formed by Napoleon, among the German princes, ſubdued to his yoke and intereſt, had deſtroyed all the hopes formerly entertained by Pruſſia, of gaining a ſupremacy in the Empire, ſimilar to that heretofore exerciſed by the Houſe of Auſtria; and though France had winked at the ſecondary idea of a ſimilar confederacy in the North of Germany, over which Pruſſia ſhould preſide; Pruſſia ſaw now that this was only a golden dream which would never be realized. The French troops were even continued in Germany, in the neighbourhood of Heſſe, and, of courſe, were watched with no ſmall jealouſy by the King of Pruſſia, who had not failed to expreſs his uneaſineſs at this circumſtance, through his miniſter at Paris.—In fact, before Lord Lauderdale quitted the French capital, the diplomatic altercation between Pruſſia and France, had proceeded ſo far as not to leave the leaſt chance of friendly accommodation. The tone of the Pruſſian Court, even then ſuppoſed to be buoyed up from ſome other quarter, was that

of firmneſs; the Pruſſian troops were animated with high enthuſiaſm, in expectation of thoſe hoſtilities which it was thought the honour of the Pruſſian nation had long ſince required.

The zeal of the people was alſo in uniſon with the army: ſeveral towns and provinces propoſed to raiſe and maintain regiments. The ſtudents of Halle, wiſhed for leave to form themſelves into a regiment of huſſars. The King of Sweden again took courage at theſe appearances, and diſpatched a conciliatory Letter, written in his own hand, to the Pruſſian monarch. The Pruſſian veſſels detained in Engliſh ports were ſpeedily liberated, to cheriſh the ſpirit of hoſtility againſt the French. Lord Morpeth was diſpatched to the Court of Berlin with advantageous propoſals; and, in idea, our ſanguinary expectations already ſaw the armies of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Sweden, all brought to bear upon the aſtoniſhed and diſmayed legions of France. How the hopes thus raiſed to the higheſt pitch, were, ultimately, precipitated into the loweſt claſs of deſpondency, in conſequence of the commencement of actual hoſtilities, it will be our province to deſcribe in the ſucceeding chapters. It will be only neceſſary to add here, that the French Emperor quitted his capital on the 24th of September to join the armies; but that being aſked from the Britiſh miniſter, whether any thing could yet prevent his hoſtilities againſt Pruſſia, he replied only one thing; that is to ſay, that if England would agree to the firſt terms propoſed by her plenipotentiaries, he would immediately order his troops to halt.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pruſſian Declaration, &c.—Its Anſwer by the French Government.—Movements of the French and Pruſſian Troops.—Letter of the King of Pruſſia to Napoleon.—His Remarks.—Defeat of the Pruſſians at Schleitz, and Saalfeldt.—The Pruſſian Army turned.—Important Victory of Jena.

BUT, though as we have mentioned before, Napoleon had ſet out to march againſt the Pruſſians; diſcuſſions were ſtill continued ſo late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were at the head-quarters of their reſpective troops, and when a diſpatch was delivered from the Pruſſian out-poſts, to thoſe of the French army, which communication ſtill afforded an opening for amicable adjuſtment; however, a few days after, namely, on the 9th, a Declaration, ſtating the grounds of the war, was publiſhed by the Pruſſian Court. It is, indeed, though extremely long, a moſt extraordinary Document; but, as it was very ſoon anſwered in the *Moniteur*, and as this Anſwer embraces the general heads of the Pruſſian State Paper, it may, in ſome meaſure, be looked upon as containing the two documents in one. This, however, was penned a few days after the great battle of Jena.

ANSWER TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA'S MANIFESTO.

Paris, November 24.

"The King of Pruſſia, upon ſuddenly taking up arms againſt France, thought it incumbent on him to retrace to all Europe, the facts which made it his duty to do ſo."

'His Majesty has acted very wisely; for all Europe was ignorant of the grievances of Prussia.'

"His Majesty sets out by declaring, that French policy had, for fifteen years, been the scourge of humanity."

"By going so far back for the motives of his discontent, his Majesty the King of Prussia gives France a right to remind him how he was the first to abandon the cause of kings in 1792, with what indignity the defenders of the throne were treated in his own camp—and how his defection was the first sanction of so dangerous a change.

"Certainly, when neither the punishment of Lewis XVI. nor the expulsion of the Stadtholder, a relation of his Prussian Majesty, nor the invasion of Holland, which Prussia looked upon as a family property, nor other conquests, nor, in fine, the progress of a system which menaced all monarchies, were able to shake the friendship that Prussia then bore to France, when her ambassador, preceding all others, was seen to sit at those civic banquets in which the destruction of Kings was sworn, the affection of Prussia might be thought proof against every thing. If so many motives could not alter, for an instant, her connexions with France, the grievances which now drive her into a more dangerous war, must, also, be of a more serious nature, and connected with more important considerations. The King of Prussia has just enabled Europe to judge of them.

"People will be astonished to see, that in a Paper which should treat only of the relations, or respective interests of France and Prussia, the Cabinet of Berlin should lay a stress only upon grievances which are foreign to it, and should consider as personal injuries, aggrandisements made over powers whom it might have more efficaciously succoured if it had thought them unjust. Now, that the disputes between France and Austria are regulated; now that the fate of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, is fixed, the recriminations of Prussia are as wanton as they are useless.

"France at firſt wiſhed only for peace—but her ſafety required that ſhe ſhould make allies of countries which ſhe might keep as conqueſts. Her enemies ſtill conſpiring againſt her, forced her to aſſume new advantages.

"The King of Pruſſia has ſeen the efforts which were unceaſingly renewed againſt her—he has often acknowledged the legitimacy of the means which ſhe took for her defence. Having had in view only the availing himſelf of the weakening of the Belligerent parties, or ſelling his inaction, it ill-becomes him to complain, at this day, of the effects of a ſyſtem which he encouraged. The wars of the Three Coalitions were foreign to him; he has no right to revive their grievances.

"If the policy of France has been a ſcourge to Europe, Europe may accuſe him of having been the accomplice of it; his declarations and his regrets, were they well founded, would leave him only the ſhame of having ſeen the good cauſe, and the cowardice of having betrayed it.

"However, at the period in queſtion (November, 1805,) Pruſſia wiſhed to act the part of mediatrix of Europe—ſhe pretended to be the rampart of the powers of the North. To hear the complaints ſhe alledges at this day, it would ſeem that ſhe was more offended than the others. A Coalition was formed in the midſt of peace, Pruſſia figured in the diſcuſſion of the intereſts, but did not appear in the field of battle. It was announced every moment. At London, the oppoſition cried out, that Auſtria and Ruſſia could do nothing uſeful without the co-operation of Pruſſia, and the miniſters gave more than hopes; at Vienna and St. Peterſburgh, they gave poſitive aſſurances of it; at Berlin, the very affecting interview of the Emperor Alexander, and the King, left no doubt of a ſpeedy co-operation; but, whilſt the Pruſſian Cabinet was bargaining, the war began by thunder claps, and the fate of Auſtria was already decided under the walls of Ulm.

"It was then that a French diviſion paſſed rapidly, over the territory of Anſpach, with the moſt friendly char-

acter, and without leaving the leaſt traces of violence, from the ſole neceſſity of executing movements, upon which the ſafety of the army depended.

"Never did any paſſage, executed with that tranquillity, excite any thing more than explanations between friendly powers. Auſtria and Pruſſia have often given the example of it. Auſtria had frequently marched troops acroſs the neutral territory of Bavaria, to ſend them into the Tyrol and Italy. What gave the laſt invaſion of Bavaria a decided character of violence and hoſtility, was, that it was followed by contributions, by forced incorporations of the Bavarian army, &c.; but nothing of the kind had taken place upon the territory of Anſpach.

"However, Pruſſia, who pretends to have ſo many other grievances to ſet forth, looks on this as a groſs affront, a deciſive reaſon. His Pruſſian Majeſty appears determined to plunge his whole nation into the horrors of war, becauſe a ſmall corner of a territory, far removed from her ſtates, was trodden by the horſes of the French army: and he then 'declares to France, that all his engagements with her are diſſolved. He makes his army take an attitude ſuitable to circumſtances.'

"It may be readily ſeen why the King of Pruſſia ſuddenly becomes ſo tickliſh upon his neutrality, till then he had been ſecretly pleaſed at the loſſes of a paramount, whom he choſe to look upon as a rival power; he had ſincerely laboured for the humiliation of Auſtria. But now he trembled at the aſcendant which fifteen years of unjuſt wars and glorious victories, had given the French power. Yet, who would think that, in the midſt of the exaggerations of his anger, and notwithſtanding the conviction which the Cabinet of Berlin had of its importance, its uſual policy could have got the better of that injuſtice which it thought it could not waſh away but in rivers of French blood? At the moment when it was thought he was marching to the field of battle, he offers, ſays the Manifeſto, to the coaleſced to be the organ of peace. But

from the habit of a conſtant contradiction between what he does, and what he declares, he ſecretly ſubſcribes, on the 3d November, an engagement to unite his forces to thoſe of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians.

"This engagement was certainly a great political error; but there are circumſtances in which even errors themſelves announce courage, and in which, like certain reverſes, they are not without honour. No doubt, had this engagement been faithfully performed, had Pruſſia immediately marched her army forward, France might have complained of ſo great a lightneſs in her engagements, of ſo quick and unfounded an irritation, and of ſo ſudden a change; but at leaſt it was a frank war, and courage would have decided it. However, the King of Pruſſia was circumſpect. The dangers which he ſtill ſaw in the execution of his vengeance, moderated his impatience. The grand victorious army marched againſt Vienna, but another French army then menaced Franconia, and whatever weight Pruſſia may wiſh to attach to the reſolution which ſhe might have taken, the fate of France did not, at that time, depend on her policy.

"Thus, her uſual prudence got the better. There again appeared this time, in the midſt of the Belligerent powers, only an ambaſſador inſtead of an army; and this ambaſſador, the witneſs of a deciſive victory, arrived there only to ſign an alliance, and witneſs the Treaty of Preſburgh.

"Hitherto Pruſſia had nothing perſonal to alledge againſt France, but the paſſage over the territory of Anſpach. She made herſelf, in words, the champion of thoſe who aſked of her actions; ſhe preſented herſelf upon the ſtage when there were not more actors; ſhe wiſhed to effect an overawing part; but ſhe met with the mortification of being diſavowed by all the powers in a part which did not ſuit her. It ill became her, indeed, to attempt to dictate laws when ſhe would not fight, and to plead for thoſe whom ſhe refuſed to defend.

"After this wavering conduct, she, however, reaped great advantage from a quarrel into which she had not entered, and from a peace decided only by victory. She offered and exchanged three small provinces of her dominions against a permission to take Hanover, long since the object of her desires, and which lay so convenient to her hand. She dares not avow it at this day; she passes lightly, as over live cinders, over this concession which she wished for and solicited, and upon which France never stipulated any thing further than a *laisser faire* (let her do it.) However, Prussia directly got the country administered in her name; she everywhere set up her arms; she raised taxes, and exercised all the privileges of sovereignty. By this fact alone, she was at war with England, as by her pretensions upon Swedish Pomerania, she had armed against Sweden. From the friend of France, Prussia was become her Ally, and had promised to support her interests. She was to begin by shutting her ports against the eternal enemies of France. But at the moment when every thing commanded her to have at length a frank and decisive policy, Prussia assumed, to the great astonishment of Europe, a still more equivocal and hypocritical attitude. Her ports were blockaded, armies were drawn up in the presence of each other, and did not yet know whether they were at war.

"After exercising, for several months, the rights of sovereignty in Hanover, the King of Prussia began to testify to the King of England that he regretted his being forced to keep his patrimony. At present he seems to wish only for a temporary possession, and we shall soon see that the most violent of his grievances is, that England proposed peace to France upon the basis of this very restitution which the King of Prussia appears so much to desire. Never was any enigma more difficult to be resolved.

"The Cabinet of Berlin complains that the Treaty of Presburg, was entered into in favour of France.—This, indeed, is a very strange reproach! Is not the usual effect

of victory to secure advantages to the conqueror?. Was France, upon coming out of a struggle in which her ruin had been conspired, to leave her enemies the means of renewing the same plots, and bringing back the same calamities?

"However, these enemies recovered almost all they had lost. France contented herself with what was requisite to guarantee her glory and their tranquillity, whereas the leagued Kings shared among themselves her spoils even before they took the field.—The measures then taken by the Emperor Napoleon, had for their object only a solid peace, and even an honourable one to the vanquished. Other conquerors keep their conquests; he made the ascendant of his arms serve only for the good of his Allies, and the safety of other potentates. The Treaty of Presburg contained the elements of a political organization, more analogous to the interests of the respective States of Germany. Their free will laid the basis of it. The arrangements made subsequent to the Treaty of Presburg, were only combinations judged necessary to secure their execution, and as it were, the fruits of the wishes and meditations of a great part of Germany; these arrangements required a degree of legitimacy and solemnity, still greater than if they had been only snatched by victory. The Electors detached themselves from the Germanic Body, and the Emperor of Austria had a right to abdicate a title which, for half a century past, has been only a source of contrarieties and occasion of wars for his House. This affair was quite foreign to Prussia, who had often given the example of defection, and of a permanent rebellion against her paramount head.—Nothing can be more pleasant than to hear the King of Prussia so kindly pitying the destruction of a dignity which he so long laboured to render a mere mockery, the prerogatives of which he continually opposed, and the humiliations and disasters of which he had secretly encouraged. Austria may yet answer the late homilies of this insulting pity, with, 'You should have come to the field of Austerlitz!'

"If the Envoy of Prussia was admitted to the negotiations which followed that battle, it will, doubtless, not be supposed, notwithstanding the bravado of the Manifesto, that it was from the terror she inspired. The French army was ready to return to France by the way of Berlin. But France then thought to lay the foundation of a lasting peace, and she wished to reconcile the interest of Prussia. The full and entire execution of the treaty was to be followed by the evacuation of Germany by the Prussian army, the Emperor of the French had a right to expect it. However, the King of Prussia looks upon the forced stay of the French troops as a grievance; but he dissembles—'the King determined to continue the part he had hitherto acted, for some time longer. He wished to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe.'

"Thus the Treaty of Presburg was no sooner signed than they foresaw the period when they were to re-kindle the war: they waited only for a favourable moment; they wished to catch the lion asleep: thus, France could only rely on herself; they justified, beforehand, every thing they would have done for her security. However, nothing of all that she might have done did she do. The protection which she, a year after, had given to the Confederacy of the Rhine, was a sacrifice on the common safety. This pact, freely consented to, did not concern Prussia: it took nothing from her; it encroached neither upon her rights nor upon her territory, which she found to be increased without her having drawn her sword. The necessary grievances which she sets forth beside the great interest of Europe, are trifles which betray the weakness of her reasons. The pecuniary indemnity which she solicited for the Prince of Orange, was only private negotiation; the loss of the three Abbeys might have been compensated; the union of Wesel to the French Empire, was a free cession in which Prussia had no right to meddle. Besides, she had just complained, that the confederate Princes

were only vaſſals of France; in her reaſoning, the union of Weſel made no alteration in the ſtate of things.

"Moreover, his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia paſſes ſo lightly over thoſe grievances, that they are not deſerving of a ſerious refutation. He expatiates more at large upon the reſtitution of Hanover, and upon the obſtacles thrown in the way of a Confederacy of the North. He feels the futility of the reſt; he willingly abandons all foreign intereſt; but theſe two grievances are inſupportable. We are drawing near the moment which determined his Majeſty.

"We have already ſeen the King of Pruſſia, after taking poſſeſſion of Hanover as its Sovereign, meaſuring back his ſteps, and looking upon it only as a temporary property. He now got himſelf intreated to keep it definitively: he wiſhed to have the air of paying homage with it to the Cabinet of St. James's, with which he was already engaged in the negotiation. Upon this well known diſpoſition, the Cabinet of St. Cloud might have made the ſame overture. It was ſtill but a ſimple propoſition, a matter to be diſcuſſed; the only queſtion was to find a compenſation. Hitherto, nothing wounded the honour of Pruſſia. She had ſhewn, or, to ſpeak more truly, affected ſo much repugnance to a definitive poſſeſſion, that one muſt have thought it rendering her a great ſervice to diſembarraſs her of this temporary load.

"Again, nothing can be more ſtrange than to ſee alledged as the principal motive of a war, evidently excited by England, a reſtitution which one wiſhed to make to his Britannic Majeſty. Suppoſing that the King of Pruſſia hoped to hold this province from the generoſity of its former poſſeſſors, this would ſerve to prove what ſacrifices the Engliſh Government is capable of making, when it is in contemplation to ſpread conflagration throughout the continent.

"As to the project of the Confederacy of the North, it ſo much flattered the pride of the King of Pruſſia, that it

for a long time concealed from him the danger of the Confederacy of the Rhine. Upon viewing the sovereign protection which he wished to exercise over his equals as a new dignity, one might wonder at the pride of this pretension, and ask by what exploits it had been inspired, upon what rights it was founded? The Rhinish Confederacy had appeared necessary to put an end to the intestine dissentions, of which Germany had been the theatre for nearly two centuries; to regulate interests till then irreconcilable; and to put the princes who compose it under the protection to which they had always been forced to recur. But Prussia had nothing plausible to alledge for extending her influence over independent states; they were not menaced; she had never drawn her sword for their defence; her domination was not necessary to their safety. If her aim was to oppose a rival Confederacy to that of the Rhine, it was preparing eternal wars, and removing Europe from the pacific end which had been the object of the one formed under the protection of the French Empire.

"The Hanse Towns, which have so long been the envy of Prussia, are indebted to France for their independence. They are the emporiums of the trade of Europe; but until trade become the common property of all nations, it is important that it be under the protection and immediate observation of the power charged to destroy commercial despotism.

"Such then were the real grievances of Prussia.—Her claims were so long veiled under friendly forms, that the Emperor Napoleon must have mistaken them. But at length the *menagement* she affected towards the Cabinet of St. James's, the negotiations which she resumed with Russia, the secret intrigues which were actively carried on among the courtiers of both sexes, sold to the interests of England, the putting the Prussian army upon an extraordinary footing of war; and above all, the obstinacy with which the King of Prussia insisted upon the evacuation

of Germany before the complete execution of the Treaty of Preſburg—all this ſerved to open the eyes of France.

" The Emperor of the French reſolved on vanquiſhing, before he anſwered the Manifeſto of the King of Pruſſia. But, now France may aſk Pruſſia, which of the two nations has had moſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with the other? Which has been ambitious, falſe, and perfidious? Which has had exaggerated pretenſions, and has excited unjuſt wars? France had figured for a thouſand years amongſt the firſt powers of the world when the Margraves of Brandenburgh were not yet in the rank of crowned heads. The Pruſſian monarchy, raiſed ſo ſuddenly, and by ſuch equivocal acquiſitions at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was in want of the protection of France, and made effectual uſe of it in its pretenſions againſt the Emperor of Germany. However, ſcarcely was it able to exiſt by itſelf, when it thought of undermining, perhaps, even of deſtroying, the power who had defended it. The French Revolution broke out; Pruſſia was the firſt to ſound the alarm, to call the Kings to the Congreſs of Pilnitz, and to ſign the Treaty by which France was to be ſhared among them! But as ſoon as ſhe ſaw that the diviſion of this nation was more difficult to be realiſed than that of Poland, ſhe abandoned the project as quickly as ſhe had conceived it, and ſince that time, ſhe has never ceaſed proteſting the moſt ſolid friendſhip towards her, whoſe ruin ſhe had ſworn. It was always the ſame ſyſtem.—Pruſſia, aggrandized by acquiſitions, wreſted by the timely importance which ſhe knew how to give herſelf, thought that Germany and France were going to make war for her benefit, and the firſt campaigns proved, in reality, the juſtice of her conjectures. But, at length her dark policy tired out the other powers, and as ſoon as ſhe attempted to quit her neutrality, ſhe loſt all her advantages. She thought ſhe might eaſily triumph over France: ſhe already diſpoſed of the fruits of her victories; ſhe ſubdued Saxony, led Heſſe to deceive French generoſity, and formed an immenſe

empire, uſurped without having fought.—What now remains to her of ſo many preſumptions, projects, and treaſons? Seven days of a freſh war have overturned the work of a hundred years of artful policy.

"Far be it from us, to wiſh to make the errors or crimes of Cabinets fall upon their nations. Moſt of thoſe who have brought ſo many calamities upon Pruſſia, have atoned for the errors of their life by an honourable death. Their courage was deſerving of a juſter cauſe. They have ſet a fine example, and their ſoldiers have not yielded, without glory, to French valour; but the morality of that Cabinet was a ſcandal and a ſcourge to all Europe; and others, as well as the Conqueror, may congratulate themſelves on its downfall. It is time that the relations of ſovereigns ſhould take a more noble and loyal turn; France wiſhes to give a long peace to the continent; the dangers which ſhe has met with in her way, have not ſtopped her; the enemies ſhe has remaining, can no longer frighten her."

Moderation in this Anſwer, muſt certainly be admitted on the part of France, who, ſo far from reaſoning upon a paſſage extremely weak and vulnerable on the part of Pruſſia, does not even mention it. This, an Engliſh journal obſerved, "very ill became a mighty kingdom to admit, and even to boaſt, that it had been led on from humiliation to humiliation, till it approached the ultimate point of political degradation!"

Of the readineſs of the French troops to commence the conflict, nothing need to be ſaid; and ſo confident was Pruſſia of her own ſtrength, that, to the very commencement of hoſtilities, ſhe ſeemed quite indifferent as to aſſiſtance from other powers. In fact, the fatal confidence did not eſcape one of our own political writers, *On the Defence of the Country*,

That able writer, who, more than indicates an ominous reſemblance between our mercantile Capital, and that Great City, deſcribed in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelations, alſo aſked the queſtion, Are we proudly confident in our military proweſs? So he replies, were the renowned battalions of Frederick, the preſent King of Pruſſia. The Pruſſians marched from Berlin againſt Buonaparté, as to a certain triumph. "Intelligent Engliſh gentlemen," he ſays, "who were there at the moment, declare, that the general confidence was extreme; that it was impoſſible to make the moſt rational Pruſſians, with whom they converſed, admit a doubt of the victorious armies of France being defeated by Pruſſian tactics; and that to ſuggeſt any uneaſineſs on the ſubject, was regarded as prepoſterous at leaſt, if not inſulting." But to proceed, the French army aſſembled in Franconia, &c. had advanced in three diviſions: the right, conſiſting of the corps of Marſhals Ney, and Soult, with a diviſion of Bavarians, proceeded by way of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in their advance upon Hoff: the centre was compoſed of the reſerve, under the Grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marſhal Davouſt, and the imperial guards marched by Bamberg towards Cronach, and by way of Saalberg and Schleitz, to Gera: the left, conſiſting of the troops of Marſhals Lannes and Augereau, marched towards Coburg and Saalfeldt. On the other hand, the Pruſſian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunſwick, and its left under Prince Hohenloe, had taken a very ſtrong poſition along the North of Francfort on the Main. The campaign opened with the affair of Schleitz,

which ended in a defeat on the part of the Pruſſians, with the loſs of ſeveral hundred men, 500 baggage waggons, &c. On the 10th, the left wing of the French was equally ſucceſsful.

It was juſtly obſerved on this ſide of the water, that, in the firſt affair between Marſhal Soult, and the Pruſſian Prince Hohenloe, near Schleitz, from which place he acknowledged he was compelled to recede, for the purpoſe of concentrating his force with the reſt of the Pruſſian army, that a retreat of above ſixty miles, which left the whole of Saxony open as far as Dreſden and Leipſick, was but an unlucky commencement of the war. Still here, as uſual, we had counter-reports, ſanctioned by eminent miniſters, eminent merchants, and eminent ſtock-jobbers. All theſe continued in circulation with more or leſs credit till the beginning of November, when the arrival of the French Bulletins put an end to the illuſion. The firſt of theſe ſtated a number of particulars relative to the negotiation with which the Pruſſian General Knobelſdorf was entruſted at Paris, in which numerous recriminations were made. It ſtated, that the Emperor Napoleon was convinced of the neceſſity of taking up arms againſt Pruſſia, having learned that troops were marching with the greateſt rapidity from Berlin, that they advanced to the frontiers of the Confederation, and inſulted their out-poſts; that on the 6th of October, the Emperor arrived at Bamberg. The ſame day, two ſhots were fired by the Pruſſian huſſars at a French field-officer, in view of the armies.

On the 7th, the Emperor Napoleon received a courier from Mentz, ſent by the Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand,) with two important Diſpatches, one

was a Letter from th King of Pruſſia, containing twenty pages, which, in fact, was nothing but a paltry pamphlet againſt France, ſuch, "ſays the Bulletin," "as thoſe produced by the writers of the Engliſh Cabinet at five hundred pounds *per annum!*" The Emperor, before he finiſhed the reading, turned to thoſe about him, and ſaid, "I pity my brother the King of Pruſſia, he underſtands not French! Surely he cannot have read this rhapſody?" This Letter was accompanied by the celebrated Note of M. de Knobelſdorf. "Marſhal," ſaid the Emperor to Berthier, "they give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th. A Frenchman, we know, never refuſes a challenge of this deſcription; but, as they ſay a handſome Queen is there, who deſires to ſee battles, let us be polite, and march without delay for Saxony." The Emperor was correctly informed; for the Queen of Pruſſia was with the army, equipped like an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, and writing twenty letters a day to all parts of the kingdom. "It appears," ſays the Bulletin, "like the conduct of the frenzied Armida in Taſſo, ſetting fire to her own palace. Next to her Majeſty, Prince Louis of Pruſſia, a brave young man, incited by the war faction, vainly hopes to gain honour and renown in the viciſſitudes of war. Following the example of theſe two great perſonages, all the adherents of the Court ſeems eager for war; but, when war ſhall preſent itſelf in all its horrors, the feelings and the language of all theſe will be widely different; they will then be deſirous of vindicating themſelves from the charge of having drawn down the thunders of war, upon the peaceable provinces of the North: then, by a natural conſequence, will be ſeen, thoſe

very perſons, now ſo clamorous for war, not only eager to exculpate themſelves, but, incenſed at the reſults of their own conduct, they will attempt to throw the odium of the meaſure upon the King, who was merely the dupe of their own intrigues and artifice."

The ſecond Bulletin informed us, that the Emperor ſet out from Bamberg on the 8th of October, at three o'clock in the morning. On the 9th, he was at Schleitz, and preſent at the firſt action of the campaign. At this place Murat, the Grand Duke of Berg, diſlodged and routed a Pruſſian general there, poſted with 10,000 men; a number of the enemy were killed and made priſoners, with very little loſs on the part of the French. The Pruſſian infantry, it was ſaid, threw down their arms, and fled, trembling, from the French bayonets. Coburg was alſo taken by the left of the French force; 1,000 priſoners made, 600 left dead on the field, and 30 pieces of cannon alſo taken.

Prince Louis of Pruſſia, whom the Bulletin calls a brave and loyal ſoldier, then ſeeing the rout of his corps, oppoſed himſelf, ſingly, to a Marſhal De Logis, of the 10th huſſars—"Surrender, Colonel," ſaid the huzzar, "or you are a dead man." The Prince anſwered by a blow with his ſabre; his antagoniſt ran him through the body, on which the Prince inſtantly fell dead. If the laſt days of his life were thoſe of a bad citizen, his death was glorious, though to be regretted. His end was ſuch as he deſired—that of a good ſoldier. Two of his *aide du-camps* were killed near him. On his perſon ſome letters were found, by which the project of the enemy had been to commence operations immediately; and that the war

faction, at the head of which were the Queen and the young Prince, had always feared the pacific intentions of the King, whose love for his subjects they thought would induce him to temporize. It may now be said, the very out-set of war has destroyed one of its authors. It was added, neither Dresden nor Berlin, are covered by an army. Turned on its left, taken, indeed, at the moment when it committed itself to the most hazardous operations, the Prussian army, at the very out set, is placed in the most central situation.

The third Bulletin mentions, that the battle of Schleitz, so fatal to the Prussians, and that of Saalfeldt, which followed next day, had spread consternation among the enemy. The King, the Queen, and the Duke of Brunswick, were at Erfurt, deliberating what should be done, while the French army continued its march. On the evening of the 12th the French scouts were at Leipsic. The enemy cut off at Dresden, was still at Erfurt on the 11th; the Weser, and the Saal, upon which they had erected batteries, were both turned. "We," the Bulletin observed, "make marches of ten leagues a day without having a single straggler. However, the King of Prussia's intentions has been realized. He wished the French army to evacuate the territory of the Confederation on the 8th of October; and they have evacuated it, but instead of repassing the Rhine, they have passed the Saal."

The fourth Bulletin commenced by observing, "that events succeed each other rapidly. The Prussian army is taken by surprise, its magazines carried off, and it is turned. The Prussian army is marching against Magdeburgh, but the French army has gained

three marches upon them. The anniverſary of the affair of Ulm, will be celebrated in the hiſtory of France."

It ſeemed, alſo, from a letter found upon a Pruſſian officer, "that a battle was expected in the courſe of a few days, the reſult of which would determine the fate of the war." What was added in the Bulletin, was actually juſtified in the event, viz.; that the French ought to have no uneaſineſs as to the reſult of ſuch a battle. It proved not leſs true, that this battle ſhould form another epoch as honourable to the French, as that of Ulm had been the year before againſt the Auſtrians; in fact, the victory of Jena ſurpaſſed the former by much. It more than wiped away the diſgrace of the battle of Roſbach, which was fought between the French and Ruſſians during the reign of Louis XV. But, as it is impoſſible to do juſtice to the deſcription of the battle of Jena, without borrowing from the fifth Bulletin of the French army; it here follows, leaving the reader to make his own reflections.

Jena, October 15.

"The battle of Jena has wiped away the diſgrace of the battle of Roſbach, and, in ſeven days, concluded a campaign, which has wholly quieted all the dreadful preparations for war, with which the Pruſſian heads were ſo much poſſeſſed. The King of Pruſſia wiſhed to commence hoſtilities on the 9th of October, by bearing down his right wing on Francfort, with his center on Wurtzburgh, and his left wing on Bamberg. All the diviſions of the army were diſpoſed for the accompliſhment of this plan; but the French army turning him upon the extremity of his left wing, it was found, in a few days, at Saalberg, at Lobenſtein, at Schleitz, at Gera, and at Naumbourg! The

Pruſſian army ſeeing itſelf turned, occupied the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in calling in their detachments; and on the 13th, formed itſelf into order of battle between Capelſdorf, being about 150,000 men ſtrong.

"On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor came to Jena, and, on a ſmall elevated flat, beſet by our advanced guard, reconnoitred the poſitions of the enemy, in order to manœuvre in ſuch a way, as next day to force the different paſſes on the Saal, and ſo to fall on. The enemy made a vigorous oppoſition, and ſeemed, by their diſpoſitions, on an inacceſſible poſition on the high-way between Jena and Weimar, to think that the French could not ſtretch out upon the plain without previouſly forcing that paſſage. It did not appear poſſible, in fact, to bring the artillery to play upon the flat, which was ſo ſmall, that four battalions could ſcarcely open out their ranks upon it.

"The men were ſet at work the whole night to make a way over the ruts, and, at length, ſucceeded in bringing the artillery upon the height.

"Marſhal Davouſt received orders to defend the paſſes near Naumburg, and the defiles of Koofen, as the enemy wanted to march upon Naumburg, in order to reach Apolda, and fall upon his rear, in caſe he remained in the ſituation he then was.

"The corps of Marſhal Prince Ponte Corvo, was deſtined to ſtretch out by Naumburg, in order to fall upon the rear guard of the enemy, in caſe he bent ſtrongly toward Naumburg or Jena.

"The heavy cavalry, which had not yet come up with the army, could not be entirely brought on by mid-day. The cavalry of the imperial guard was at the diſtance of thirty-ſix hours march, notwithſtanding the heavy journey which it had performed ſince it left Paris; but it was come to that moment of the war, when no ſingle conſideration ſhould outweigh, to deprive them of the advantage of being the firſt to meet and fall upon the enemy.

"The Emperor placed the whole corps of Marſhal Lannes in order of battle upon the level height, which the enemy ſeemed to overlook—(they occupied a poſition over againſt it.)—This corps was placed under the care of General Victor; each diviſion formed a wing. Marſhal Lefevre ordered the imperial guard into a ſquare battalion upon the higheſt point. The Emperor kept the watch in the midſt of his brave men. The night preſented a remarkable ſpectacle: two armies, the one of which extended its front upon a line of ſix hours march, fired the air with its lights; the other, the lights of which ſeemed to be brought into one ſmall point; and in the one as well as in the other, all watchfulneſs and motion. The lights of the two armies were at half cannon ſhot diſtance reſpectively; the ſentinels were almoſt touching, and there was not a ſingle motion, on either ſide, which could not be heard from the other.

"The diviſions of Marſhals Ney and Soult, took up the whole night in marching. At break of day the whole army was under arms. Suchet's diviſion formed the right, the imperial guards occupied the ſummit of a height. Each of theſe corps had their artillery in the little ſpaces between.

"From the town and the neighbouring vallevs, the paſſes had been diſcovered, by which the troops which could not be placed upon the level height might extend themſelves in the eaſieſt manner, and this is ſurely the firſt occaſion when an army had to defile through ſo ſmall a paſs.

"A thick fog obſcured the day. The Emperor paſſed before the different lines; he commanded his ſoldiers to take care of the Pruſſian cavalry which had been deſcribed ſo extraordinary; he bade them remember that a year was not elapſed ſince Ulm was taken; that the Pruſſian army, like the Auſtrian then, was ſurrounded, had been driven from their line of operations, and loſt their magazines; that they, at the preſent moment, no longer fought for ho-

nour but for a retreat; that they alone fought to make themſelves an opening upon different points, and that the corps of the army which ſhould let them paſs, would loſe its honour and its glory.

" To theſe inſpiring words the ſoldiers anſwered, with a loud cry of, ' Let us onward !'—The light troops began the action; they opened a very briſk fire. Good as was the poſition of the enemy, he was, nevertheleſs, driven out; and the French army marched out in the plain, and began to arrange itſelf in battle.

" The enemy's army, which, on their ſide had no other view than to fall on whenever the fog ſhould have cleared up, took up their arms. An army of 50,000 men from the left wing, poſted itſelf to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to get poſſeſſion of the paſſes of Koefen; but this was already foreſtalled by Marſhal Davouſt. The two other armies, one amounting to 80,000 men ſtrong, placed themſelves before the French army, which was opening out from the level height of Jena. The miſt hung over both armies, laſting two hours; but at length was diſſipated by the brightneſs of the ſun. The two armies mutually beheld each other at the diſtance of leſs than cannon-ſhot; the left wing of the French army ſupporting itſelf againſt a village, and the woods was commanded by Marſhal Augereau. The imperial guard ſhewed their fire upon the centre, which was maintained by Marſhal Lannes; the right wing was drawn together out of the corps of Marſhal Soult. Marſhal Soult had nothing but a ſmall corps of 3,000 men, purely compoſed of troops which had arrived of his light corps.

" The enemy's army was numerous, and diſplayed a fine cavalry; their manœuvres were exactly and rapidly executed. The Emperor had requeſted to delay coming to an engagement for two hours, in order to watch the poſitions which the enemy ſhould take after the action of the morning, and to give the neceſſary orders to the troops, eſpecially the cavalry, which required the greateſt care.

But the impetuosity of the French was too ardent for him. Several battalions had begun to engage in the village of Hollstedt. He saw that the enemy was getting into motion to drive them out; he gave immediate orders to Marshal Lannes, to march with expedition to the support of the village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement with his right wing upon our left, Marshal Augereau was commanded to repulse them, and in less than an hour the action was general. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful events ever witnessed on the theatre of history. On one side, as well as on the other, every manœuvre was performed as if it were on a parade.

"Among our troops, there was not for a moment the least disorder; the victory became ours in this moment. The Emperor had all along by him, besides his imperial guard, a large body of troops as a reserve to act in unforeseen events.

"Marshal Soult having got possession of the wood, which occupied him two hours, made a move forwards. At that instant, the Emperor gave orders that the division of French cavalry in reserve should begin to take post, and that the two new divisions from the army of Marshal Ney, should take station upon the field of battle by the rear. All the troops of the reserve were advanced to the foremost line, which being thus strengthened, threw the enemy into disorder, and they instantly retired.

"They retrieved themselves for about an hour; but were cast into dreadful confusion, at the moment when our division of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the Grand Duke of Berg at their head, were able to take a part in the engagement. These brave cavaliers, aware that the fate of the battle, especially at the conclusion of the day, depended upon them, bore the Prussians down before them in great confusion, wherever they met them. The Prus-

ſian cavalry and infantry could not withſtand the ſhock. In vain did they form themſelves into a ſquare; five of their battalions were put to the route—artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were ſurpriſed and taken. The French came at the ſame inſtant to Weimar as the enemy, who found themſelves purſued for ſix hours.

"On our right wing, Marſhal Davouſt did wonders. Not merely did he maintain his ground, but he followed, fighting, for the ſpace of three hours againſt the great body of the enemy's troops from the defiles of Koeſen.

"The reſult of the battle is from 30,000 to 40,000 priſoners of war, 300 pieces of cannon, immenſe magazines, and quantities of proviſion. Among the priſoners are more than twenty generals; among others ſeveral lieutenant-generals; one is Lieutenant-general Schmettan. The amount of the loſs of the Pruſſian army is enormous; it is eſtimated at above 20,000 killed and wounded. Marſhal Mollendorf is wounded; the Duke of Brunſwick, and General Rachel are killed, and Prince Henry of Pruſſia is wounded deſperately. According to the accounts of deſerters, priſoners of war, and flags of truce, the diſorder and confuſion in the remainder of the enemy's army is at the utmoſt.

"On our ſide, we have only to lament the loſs of Brigadier-general De Belli, a brave ſoldier: and the wound of Brigade-general Conroux. Among the killed, are Colonels Verges, Lamotte, Barbenegre, Marigny, Dalembourg, Nicholas, Viala, and Higonet.

"The huſſars and chaſſeurs diſplayed a valour on this day, which entitles them to the higheſt praiſe. The Pruſſian cavalry were never able to ſtand againſt them.

"Of the French infantry we ſhall ſay nothing. It is known, long ſince, as the beſt infantry in the world. The Emperor declares, that the French cavalry, after the experience of the two laſt campaigns and laſt battle, has not its like.

"The Pruſſian army has loſt every point of retreat in

its line of operations. Its left wing, followed by Marſhal Davouſt, begins its retreat to Weimar, at the ſame time that its right wing and centre take their retreat from Weimar towards Naumburg. The confuſion was, therefore, extraordinary. The King was forced to retreat acroſs the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

" Our loſs is 1,000 to 1,100 men killed, and 3,000 wounded. The Grand Duke of Berg, is at this moment, cloſe up to Erfurt, where is a corps of the enemy, commanded by Marſhal Mollendorf, and the Prince of Orange.

" The general ſtaff is occupied in preparing an official relation, which ſhall make known, with every detail, all the different corps and regiments that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves; to entitle them to the eſteem and acknowledgments of the nation: if any thing were wanting, they have teſtified it amply in the enthuſiaſm and love they have ſhewn for their Emperor in the thickeſt of the fight.

" At one moment there was room for a doubt; every mouth at once was filled with the univerſal cry of 'Long live the Emperor!' a ſentiment which ran through every heart in the midſt of the battle. The Emperor ſeeing his wings threatened by the cavalry, ſet forward at full gallop to the ſpot to direct other manœuvres, and order a change of front.

" He was every moment annoyed with the ſhouts of 'Long live the Emperor!' The imperial foot-guards, enraged not to be allowed to preſs on while they ſaw every other corps was in motion, ſeveral voices among them cried out, 'Forward!'—'What is this?' ſaid the Emperor. 'This can come from none other but ſome beardleſs boy that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon him to adviſe me.'

" In the heavieſt of the fire, when the enemy had loſt almoſt all his generals, it might be ſeen what Providence had done for us, which had ſpared our army. Not a man

of diſtinction, on the ſide of the French, is injured or wounded. Marſhal Lannes was grazed by a muſket-bullet on the breaſt, but eſcaped unhurt. Marſhal Davouſt had his hat and clothes ſhot through in ſeveral places with ſmall bullets. The Emperor was continually ſurrounded, wherever he appeared, by the Prince of Neufchatel, Marſhal Beſſieres; the Grand Maſter of the Horſe, Caulincourt; his *aides-de-camp*, and equerry in waiting. A part of the army did not fire a ſingle ſhot.

" Erfurt is taken; the Prince of Orange Fulda, Marſhal Mollendorf, ſeveral other generals, and a conſiderable number of the troops, are priſoners of war."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Napoleon's Addreſs to the Saxon Officers.—Proclamations.—The King of Pruſſia ſends a Letter to him, anſwering one ſent the Night before the Battle of Jena.—Erfurt taken.—Stratagem attempted by General Kalkreuth fails.—Defeated by Marſhal Soult.—Ingratitude of the Ruſſians.—Halle taken.—Singular Remark upon the Interpoſition of Providence.—Eſcape of General Blucher.—Blind Confidence of the Pruſſians.—Project of blocking up the Iſland of Great Britain, &c. &c.

THE Sixth French Bulletin mentioned, that 6,000 Saxons, and more than 300 officers were taken priſoners of war. The Emperor Napoleon aſſembled the Officers, and told them it was with reluctance he had made war with them; that he had only taken up arms in the deſign of preſerving the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Pruſſian monarchy; that his intention was to ſend them all home, if they would give him their parole never to ſerve againſt France; that their Sovereign, whoſe good qualities he was well acquainted with, had been too weak to retire before the Pruſſians, and leave his country at their mercy; that all theſe doings muſt have an end; that the Pruſſians muſt confine themſelves to Pruſſia, and in no reſpect meddle with the affairs of Germany; that it behoved the Saxons to unite themſelves with the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France, a protection it was not the firſt time they had enjoyed; having for two centuries

paſt been protected by her againſt the encroachments of the Houſe of Auſtria; that the continent had need of reſt; and, that in ſpite of low paſſions and ſtratagems, ſet in motion by different courts, tranquillity muſt be ſecured, although the fall of ſome thrones ſhould pave the way. The two following Proclamations iſſued before and after the battle, muſt not paſs unnoticed.

PROCLAMATION *of the* EMPEROR NAPOLEON *to his* ARMY.

"SOLDIERS!

"The arrangements for your return to France were made; already were you drawn nearer to your frontiers; triumphal feſtivals awaited you, and every preparation was made in the capital for your reception; but while you were retiring with ſo much confidence, new plots were in contrivance under the maſk of friendſhip and union. The cry of war reſounded in Berlin; for two months have we every day received more provocation. The ſame faction, the ſame ſpirit of deſtruction, which fourteen years ago brought the Pruſſians into the plains of Champaign, in the opportunity afforded by our diviſions, animates and guides their councils. If it be no longer Paris that they want to burn and deſtroy from roof to foundation, it is the capitals of our Allies, in the midſt of which they intend to plant their ſtandards; it is Saxony, whom they have forced, by a diſgraceful treaty, to renounce her independence, and of which they purpoſe to make one of their provinces; it is, in ſhort, your laurels that they wiſh to tear from your brows. Shall we draw away our troops from Germany?—the ſenſeleſs beings!—Let them know, that it is eaſier to ravage the Capital than to tarniſh the honour of the children of the Great Nation, and of her Allies. Their plans were then circumvented: they found in the plains of Champaign their defeat, death, and ſhame; but the leſſon of experience is uſeleſs, and there are men

in whom the ſenſe of hatred and envy never is extinguiſhed.

" Soldiers! There is not one of you that would return into France by any other road but the road of honour; it is only under an arch of triumph that you ſhould return. What! have we braved the ſeaſons, the ſeas, and the deſarts; have we triumphed over Europe leagued againſt us; have we borne our glory, from Orient to the ſetting ſun, only to abandon our vallies, to return to France like runaways, and to hear it ſaid that the Eagle of France was ſeized with dread at the ſight of the Eagle of Pruſſia?—but they are already in preſence of our advanced guards. We will march, becauſe moderation cannot calm ſuch inconceivable pride. Let the Pruſſian army have again the fate it met with fourteen years back. Let it know, that it is eaſy to increaſe territory and power by the friendſhip of the Great Nation; but that her enmity, which, without renouncing every degree of wiſdom and reaſon, cannot be provoked, is more terrible than the tempeſts of the ocean.

" Done at our head-quarters in Bamberg, 6th of Oct. 1806.

(Signed) " NAPOLEON."

The Emperor NAPOLEON'S *Appeal to the* SAXONS.

" SAXONS!

" The Pruſſians have over-run your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connexion, which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to ſhed your blood for an intereſt to which you are not only ſtrangers, but which is even in oppoſition to your intereſts.

" My army was upon the point of evacuating Germany when your territory was violated: it ſhall return to France as ſoon as Pruſſia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which ſhe had formed againſt you.

" Saxons! your Prince had, till that moment, refuſed to

enter into an alliance ſo oppoſite to his duties; if he has ſince conſented to the conditions impoſed upon him, it has only been in conſequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Pruſſians.

"I was deaf to the idle provocations which the Pruſſians offered againſt my people. I was deaf to them ſo long as their armaments were confined to the Pruſſian ſtates, and my miniſter did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.

"Saxons, your deſtiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between thoſe who would bring you under the yoke, and thoſe who would defend you? My victories ſhall ſecure the exiſtence and the independence of your Prince, and your nation. The conqueſts of the Pruſſians will only rivet your chains. But what do I ſay? Have they not already tried every experiment? Have they not, for a long time paſt, tried every effort to compel your Prince to acknowledge a ſovereignty, which, once directly impoſed upon you, would eraſe you from the liſt of nations?

"Your independence, your conſtitution, your liberty, would then only exiſt in the pages of memory: and the ſhades of your forefathers, thoſe valiant Saxons, would diſdain you, for ſuffering yourſelves to be reduced to ſlavery without reſiſtance—a ſlavery prepared for you ſo long beforehand—and thus becoming witneſſes of the degradation of your country into a Pruſſian province.

"Given at our head-quarters at Ebersdorf, Oct. 11, 1806.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The Seventh Bulletin ſtated, that the King of Pruſſia ſent an *aide-de-camp* to the Emperor, with an anſwer to that of his Imperial Majeſty, wrote to him before the battle of Jena. The reply of the Emperor Napoleon, was the ſame as that which he returned to the Emperor of Ruſſia before the battle

of Auſterlitz. He ſaid to the King of Pruſſia, "The ſucceſs of my arms is not doubtful. Your troops ſhall be beaten; but it will coſt me the blood of my children. If that can be ſpared by any arrangement conſiſtent with the dignity of my crown, I will do all that may depend on me. Excepting honour, nothing is ſo dear in my eyes as the blood of my ſoldiers." The Eighth Bulletin mentions, the taking a number of Pruſſian priſoners, convoys, &c.; and, that a battalion of Pruſſian troops entered one of the French night camps, miſtaking it for their own! The Ninth, reports the ſurrender of the fine citadel of Erfurth, with large magazines; and that ſcouts arrived every moment with news of the ſurrender of whole battalions, &c. The Tenth ſtates, that, among the 60 ſtand of colours taken at the battle of Jena, ſeveral belonged to the King of Pruſſia's guards; and upon one, belonging to the body guards, the inſcription was written in French. The King of Pruſſia, it goes on to ſay, "has demanded an armiſtice for ſix weeks. The Emperor anſwered, it was impoſſible after a victory, to give the enemy time to rally. But the Pruſſians have been ſo induſtrious in ſpreading ſuch a report, that a number of our generals, who met them, were made to believe it was actually concluded. Marſhal Soult, on the 16th, arrived at Greuſſen in purſuit of the column where the King was, which is eſtimated at ten or twelve thouſand men. General Kalkreuth who commanded it, cauſed it to be notified to Marſhal Soult, that an armiſtice had been concluded. The Marſhal replied, that it was impoſſible the Emperor ſhould have committed that error; and that he would not give credit to any armiſtice, unleſs announced to

him officially. General Kalkreuth expreſſed a wiſh to ſee Marſhal Soult, who went to the advanced poſts. 'What would you have of us,' ſaid the Pruſſian general? 'The Duke of Brunſwick is dead; all our generals are killed, wounded, or made priſoners; the greater part of our army is put to flight. Your ſucceſs has been ſufficiently great: the King has demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms; it is impoſſible your Emperor ſhould not grant it.' 'General,' ſaid Marſhal Soult, 'it is a long time that we have been thus dealt with. People appeal to our generoſity when they are vanquiſhed, and the moment after, forget the magnanimity we are accuſtomed to ſhew. After the battle of Auſterlitz, the Emperor granted an armiſtice to the Ruſſian army; this armiſtice ſaved the army. Obſerve the unworthy manner in which the Ruſſians have now acted: it is ſaid, they wiſh to return; we burn with impatience to meet them again. Had there been ſo much generoſity among them as among us, they would have left us to remain at peace, after the moderation we had ſhewn them in the midſt of victory. We have no way provoked the unjuſt war in which you have engaged againſt us. You have declared it wantonly. The battle of Jena has decided the fortune of the campaign. Our buſineſs is to do you all the injury we can. Lay down your arms, and I ſhall wait in this ſituation for the orders of the Emperor.' The old General Kalkreuth, ſaw well that he had nothing to reply: the two generals ſeparated, and hoſtilities recommenced the moment after. The village of Greuſſen was taken, and the enemy routed with the ſword at their backs. The Grand Duke of Berg, Marſhals Soult and Ney, it was then ſaid, would re-unite by com-

bined movements and crush the enemy. "They, without doubt, must have seen a number of fugitives; the plains are covered with them, and their route incumbured with carriages and baggage of every sort. Marshal Davoust is gone this day to Leipsic, and to throw a bridge over the Elbe. The Emperor marches towards Halle, Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg will be attacked there to-morrow, if he remains in his position. Exclusively of great magazines found at Naumbourg, others have been taken at Weissenfels. The Prussian General Ruchel, has been found in a village, mortally wounded, &c." This Bulletin concluded with the following striking observation: "It appears as if it were a decree of Providence, that all those who have pushed forward this war, should be cut off by the first blows that were struck."

The Eleventh Bulletin mentions, the defeat of the Prince of Wirtemburg, and the taking of Halle, in less than an hour. Five thousand prisoners were made on that occasion; but the Prussian General Blucher, passed through the French General Klein's dragoons, in consequence of alledging that an armistice had been concluded for six weeks. Klein, it is added, had the simplicity to believe him. It was further stated, that Montesquieu, the Emperor's orderly officer, who had been sent with a flag of truce to the King of Prussia, on the evening before the great battle of Jena, had been carried along for several days with the flying enemy. Having then returned, he described the confusion in the Prussian army as inexpressible. Notwithstanding this, their boasting on the eve of the battle was unequalled!

They thought of nothing leſs than cutting off the French army, and taking from it columns of 40,000 men! The Pruſſian generals, aped, a much as they could, the manners of Frederick the Great. Although the French were in their country, the Pruſſian generals appeared to be in the moſt complete ignorance of their movements. They believed that on the little plain of Jena, there was no more than 4,000 men; and, that even when the greateſt part of the French army had ſpread over the plain of Jena! The Emperor having croſſed the field of the battle of Roſbach, ordered that the pillar erected in its memory, ſhould be tranſported to Paris.

The Twelfth Bulletin, dated Halle, October 19, ſtated, that the firſt object of the campaign had been accompliſhed, that Saxony, Weſtphalia, and all the countries on the left bank of the Elbe, were relieved from the preſence of the Pruſſian army. That army, it was ſaid, beaten, and purſued with the ſword at its back, for more than fifty leagues, is, at this day, without artillery, without baggage, and without officers, reduced to a third of what it was eight days ago; and, what is ſtill worſe than that, has loſt its diſtinguiſhing character, and all confidence in itſelf. Here followed ſome intercepted private letters, apparently confirming the Bulletins of the army, to a very ſingular degree.

The Thirteenth Bulletin, dated Halle, October 29, 1806, was the firſt inſtrument that made us acquainted with Napoleon's project, threatening to block us up in our iſland! General Macon, commandant at Leipſic, in Saxony, ſent the following notification to the merchants, bankers, and traders of that city.

"Since the tyrant of the ſeas will not reſpect any flag, it is the intention of the Emperor to ſeize the Engliſh merchandiſe wherever it may be found, and ſtrictly to block them up in their Iſland." Great quantities of ammunition were found in the military magazines at Leipſic.

This Bulletin further ſtated another blunder committed by the Pruſſians; a regiment of their huſſars, ſtill believing that Halberſtadt was in poſſeſſion of their countrymen, were charged by the 22d French huſſars, and loſt 300 men. General Beaumont, it was added, took 600 of the King's guard, and all the equipage of that corps. Two hours before, two companies of the royal foot-guards were taken by Marſhal Soult. Lieutenant-general Schmettau died at Weimar of his wounds. "Thus, of this ſuperb army, which, a few days ſince, threatened to invade the Confederation of the Rhine, and inſpired its ſovereign with ſuch confidence, that he dared to order the Emperor Napoleon to quit Germany before the 8th of October, if he did not wiſh to be conſtrained by force; we may ſay, there remains nothing but the wreck; an unformed chaos, which merits rather the name of a mob than that of an army. Of 160,000 men, whom the King of Pruſſia had, it would be difficult to unite more than 50,000, and thoſe without artillery, and without baggage, partly armed, and partly diſarmed. All thoſe events juſtify what the Emperor ſaid in his firſt Proclamation, in which he expreſſed himſelf thus, "Let them learn, that although it is eaſy to acquire an increaſe of dominion and of power, by means of the friendſhip of a great people, its enmity is more terrible than the ſtorms of the ocean."

"Nothing, indeed, reſembles more the preſent ſtate of the Pruſſian army, than a ſhip-wreck. It was like a fine and numerous fleet, which pretended to nothing leſs than to ſweep the ſeas; but an impetuous North-wind has raiſed the ocean againſt it. There returns to port but a ſmall part of the crews, who have found ſecurity only in ſaving themſelves upon the wreck." Another letter ſhews, that the Pruſſian Cabinet miſtook the moderation of the Emperor Napoleon for weakneſs; becauſe, he did every thing he poſſibly could to avoid war, it was concluded, "that he was not prepared, and that he wanted 20,000 conſcripts to fill up his army!" "The French army," the *Moniteur* obſerves, "was no longer cooped up at Boulogne; it was in Germany, and M. D'Haugwitz might have counted it. We recogniſe, therefore, the will of that providence which has not left our enemies eyes to ſee, ears to hear, or judgment or reaſon to guide their conduct. It further appears, that M. Charles, Prince of Heſſe, thinking to join the Pruſſians, had fixed his mind upon having the city of Mentz upon the Rhine; and why not Metz," ſays the *Moniteur*, "and other places to the Eaſt of France? Tell us then no longer, that the ambition of the French forced you to take up arms, rather confeſs it was your own ill-judged ambition; while one French army was in Naples, and another in Dalmatia, you projected an attack upon the Great People, but in ſeven days your projects have been confounded. You thought of attacking France without running any riſk, and already you have ceaſed to exiſt."

It is further ſtated, that before the Emperor Napoleon quitted Paris, he aſſembled his miniſters, and

made to them the following solemn and emphatic appeal.

"I am innocent of this war; I have done nothing to provoke it; it did not enter into my calculations. Let me be defeated if it be of my making. One of the principal motives of the confidence I have, that my enemies will be destroyed, is, that I see in their conduct the finger of Providence, who, willing that traitors should be punished, has set wisdom so far aside in their councils, that when they intended to attack me at the moment of weakness, they chose the very instant when I was stronger than ever."

The Fourteenth Bulletin mentioned, that the Marquis De Lucchesini, was at the advanced posts with a letter from the King of Prussia; that Magdeburg was blockaded; that General Belleard, Chief of the French Staff saw there Prince Hohenloe. The language of the Prussian officers was much changed. "What," said they, "does your Emperor want?—Will he continually pursue us?—We have not had a moments repose since the battle." They wanted to ask three days to bury their dead. "Think of the living" said the Emperor, "leave to us the care of burying the dead; there is no need of a truce for that."

The confusion in Berlin is extreme. All the good citizens who groaned under the false direction given to the politics of their country, reproach the firebrands, kindled by England, with the sad effects of their intrigues. There is but one cry in all the country—against the Queen. The enemy appears to be endeavouring to rally behind the Oder.

The Sovereign of Saxony has thanked the Emperor for the generosity with which he has treated him.

The Fifteenth Bulletin, dated Wittemberg, October 23, among other cauſes of the war, mentions that General Schmettau drew up a memorial, written with much force, in which he eſtabliſhed, that the Pruſſian army ought to regard itſelf as diſhonoured; that it was, notwithſtanding, in a ſtate to beat the French; and that it was neceſſary to make war.

General Ruchell (killed) and Blucher, (who only ſaved himſelf by a ſubterfuge, and by abuſing the French good faith) ſubſcribed this memoir, which was drawn up in the form of a petition to the King. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Pruſſia (killed) ſupported it by every ſpecies of ſarcaſm. The flames ſpread through every head. The Duke of Brunſwick (wounded very badly,) a man known only to be without a will, and without deciſion, was enrolled in the war faction. In ſhort, the memoir, thus ſupported, was preſented to the King. The Queen undertook to diſpoſe the mind of the King, and to make known to him what was thought of him. She reported to him that he was not thought brave; and that if he did not make war, it was becauſe he was afraid of putting himſelf at the head of his army. The King, really as brave as any Pruſſian prince, gave way, without ceaſing to preſerve the opinion, that he committed a great fault.

We ſhould ſignaliſe the men who have not partaken of the illuſions of the war partiſans. Theſe are the reſpectable Field Marſhals, Mollendorf, and General Kalkreuth.

The Emperor, already maſter of the communications and magazines of the enemy, wrote, on the 12th of this month, the letter which is annexed, which he ſent by the orderly officer, Monteſquieu.

This officer arrived on the 13th, at the quarters of General Hohenloe, who kept him there, and took the letter of which he was the bearer.

The camp of the King of Pruſſia was about two leagues behind. That Prince, ſhould, therefore, have received the letter of the Emperor at ſix in the evening at the lateſt. We are aſſured, however, that he did not receive it till nine o'clock in the morning, on the 14th; that is to ſay, when the battle was already begun.

The Queen was always to be found at the head-quarters at Weimar. It was neceſſary, at laſt, to tell her, that circumſtances were ſerious, and, that on the morrow, great events for the Pruſſian monarchy might occur.

Lord Morpeth, ſent by the Court of London, arrived on the 11th at Weimar, charged to propoſe conſiderable ſubſidies. The horizon was already very cloudy; the Cabinet was not willing to ſee this envoy: he was told, that, perhaps, there was little ſafety for his perſon, and they engaged him to return to Hamburgh, there to wait the event.

"What (continues this Bulletin) would the Dutcheſs of Devonſhire have ſaid, had ſhe ſeen her noble kinſman employed in ſpreading the flames of war, and, while offering the poiſon of gold, obliged to make a precipitate retreat. One is indignant at ſeeing England thus diſhonour her agents, otherwiſe reſpectable, and act a character ſo odious." Upon the ſeizure of the Engliſh goods at Leipſic, it is aſked, "What will England get by this war? She might have recovered Hanover, kept the Cape of Good Hope, preſerved Malta, made an honourable peace, and reſtored tranquillity to the world; but

ſhe has urged Pruſſia on to her ruin; and the time approaches, when we may declare England in a ſtate of univerſal blockade. It was with blood only, that the Engliſh hoped to feed their commerce, and re-animate their induſtry. Great calamities may come upon England, Europe will attribute them to the loſs of that honeſt man, and miniſter, who wiſhed to govern by great and liberal ideas; and which loſs, the Engliſh people will one day deplore with tears of blood.

"The French columns are already marching upon Potſdam and Berlin. Deputies from Potſdam are arrived to requeſt protection.

"The Imperial head-quarters are now at Wittenberg."

Sixteenth Bulletin.—The Duke of Brunſwick has ſent his Marſhal of the Palace to the Emperor. That officer was entruſted with a letter, in which the Duke recommended his ſtates to the protection of his Majeſty. The Emperor ſaid to him, "If I were to demoliſh the city of Brunſwick, and if I did not leave one ſtone upon another, what would your Prince ſay? Does not the law of retaliation authoriſe me to do at Brunſwick, what he would have done in my capital? To threaten to deſtroy cities may be merely the act of madneſs; but to attempt to deprive a whole army of brave men of their honour—to propoſe to them to quit Germany at ſtated marches, is what poſterity will hardly credit. The Duke of Brunſwick ought not to have committed ſuch an outrage. Men, who have grown grey under arms, ſhould reſpect the honour of military men; it was not in the plains of Champagne that that general acquired the right to treat the

Late
Duke of Brunswick.

Pub. by J. ... Bumford ...

French colours with such contempt. Such a summons only dishonours the soldier who makes it: that dishonour does not belong to the King of Prussia; it attaches to the chief of his military council; to the general to whom, in difficult circumstances, he had confided his affairs. It is the Duke of Brunswick alone, whom France and Prussia can accuse of the war. The frenzy, of which that old general set the example, encouraged a set of turbulent young men, and hurried on the King, contrary to his own disposition and conviction. Sir, tell the inhabitants of the country of Brunswick, that they will find the French generous enemies; that I wish to soften the rigours of war with regard to them; and that the inconvenience which the passage of troops may occasion, will be against my inclination. Tell General Brunswick, that he shall be treated with all the attention due to a Prussian officer, but that I cannot recognise a sovereign in a Prussian General. If the House of Brunswick lose the sovereignty of its ancestors, it can only be ascribed to the author of two wars—who, in one, would have sapped the Great Capital to its foundation; and who, in the other, attempted to dishonour two hundred thousand brave men, who, perhaps, might be conquered, but who would never be surprised out of the path of honour and glory. Much blood has been shed in a few days. Great disasters press upon the Prussian monarchy. How blameable is the man, who, by a single word, might have prevented them: if, like Nestor, rising in the midst of the councils, he had said, 'Be silent, ye inconsiderate youth!—women, return to your spindles, and to the management of your domestic concerns! And you, Sire, believe the com-

panion of the moſt illuſtrious of your predeceſſors, ſince the Emperor Napoleon does not wiſh for war, do not place him in the alternative of war or diſhonour. Do not engage yourſelves in a dangerous conteſt with an army, that boaſts of fifteen years ſpent in glorious labours, and that victory has accuſtomed to every ſacrifice.' Inſtead of holding this language, which agreed ſo well with the prudence of his years, and with the experience of ſo long a career, he has been the firſt to raiſe the cry of war; he has even been faithleſs to the ties of conſanguinity, in arming a ſon againſt his father; he has threatened to place his colours on the palace of Stutgard, and accompanying thoſe proceedings with invectives againſt France. He was the declared author of that frantic Manifeſto which he has denied theſe fourteen years, though he could not deny that he had not given it the ſanction of his ſignature."

LETTER

To the KING *of* PRUSSIA, *carried by* MONSIEUR DE MONTESQUIEU, *Captain, who ſet out from* GERA, *the 13th of October*, 1806, *at 10 o'Clock in the Morning, and arrived at the Camp of* GENERAL HOHENLOHE, *at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon.*

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"I have only received upon the 7th, your Majeſty's letter of the 25th of September. I am ſorry that you have been induced to ſign a pamphlet of that kind.* I

* This alludes to a letter of the King of Pruſſia, conſiſting of twenty pages, which was a mere rhapſody, that the King, moſt certainly could not have read or underſtood. We cannot print it, becauſe, whatever relates to the private correſpondence of ſovereigns, remains in the port folio of the Emperor, and does not come before the public. If we publiſh that of his Majeſty, it is, becauſe, many

only anſwer your Majeſty's letter for the purpoſe of aſſuring you, that I ſhall never attribute to your Majeſty the things contained in it. Every thing in it is contrary to the character of your Majeſty, and to the honour of us both. I pity and deſpiſe thoſe who have been the authors of ſuch a production. I received immediately afterwards, the Note of your Miniſter, dated the 1ſt of October. It has given me the rendezvous for the 8th. As a true knight, I have kept my word, and am now in the middle of Saxony. Let your Majeſty believe me, I have ſuch a force, that all your Majeſty's forces cannot keep the victory long doubtful. But why ſhould we ſhed ſo much blood? For what purpoſe is it? I ſhall uſe to your Majeſty the ſame language that I uſed to the Emperor Alexander, before the battle of Auſterlitz. May heaven grant, that corrupt men and fanatics, who are more the enemies of you and your throne, than they can be of me and my nation, may not give you the ſame advice, to bring you to the ſame reſult!

"Sire, I have been your friend for theſe ſix years. I do not wiſh to profit by this kind of vertigo which animates your councils, and which has made you commit errors in politics, with which Europe is quite aſtoniſhed, and errors, in a military point of view, with which Europe will ſoon reſound. If your Majeſty had, in your Note, demanded any things that it was poſſible for me to grant, I ſhould have granted them: you have aſked what would be diſhonour to me; and, therefore, you might be ſure about what would be my reply. War is, therefore, declared between us, and the alliance broken for ever. But why ſhould we ſhed the blood of our ſubjects? I ſet no value upon a victory which is purchaſed by the lives of my children. If I were now beginning my military career, and if I could fear the chances of war, this language would be

copies of it having been made at the Pruſſian head-quarters, (where it was much admired) one copy has fallen into our hands.

out of its place. Sire, your Majesty will be conquered: you will have compromised the peace of your life and the existence of your subjects, without even the shadow of a pretext. This day you are unbroken, and may treat with me in a manner suitable to your rank: your Majesty may treat with me before a month is over, but in a situation very different. Your Majesty has permitted yourself to use irritating expressions, which have been artfully prepared. You have told me that you have often rendered me services. Well, then, I shall give you a great proof of the recollection that I have of them. It is now in your power to save your subjects from the ravages of war. It is hardly now begun, and you may finish it, and Europe will be much indebted to you. If your Majesty shall listen to those frantic persons, who, fourteen years ago, wished to take Paris, and who now have induced you to embark in a war, and in offensive projects equally inconceivable, your Majesty will do an injury to your people, that the remainder of your life will not be able to heal. Sire, I have nothing to gain in a contest with your Majesty: I want nothing, nor ever did want any thing from you. The present war is a most impolitic one. I feel that, perhaps, by this letter, I am irritating that sensibility which naturally belongs to every sovereign; but the present circumstances admit of no disguise. I tell your Majesty what I think. Let you Majesty, moreover permit me to tell you, that it is no great discovery to Europe to learn that France is three times more populous, and as brave and warlike as the states of your Majesty. I have not given you any real subject for war. Let your Majesty then order this swarm of malevolent and inconsiderate persons to be silent, with that respect that is due to your throne, and restore that tranquillity that is due to yourself and to your dominions. If you will never again find an Ally in me, you will find a man who is desirous of never waging any wars that are not indispensable for the interests of my people, and of never shedding blood in a contest with

ſovereigns who have no oppoſite intereſt to me from induſtry, commerce, and political ſyſtem. I pray your Majeſty to ſee, in this letter, only the deſire I have to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, and to ſave a nation that, from its geographical poſition, cannot be an enemy to mine, from the bitter repentance which it would have to feel, from having liſtened too much to thoſe momentary paſſions which are ſo eaſily rouſed and appeaſed among all nations.

"Sire, my Brother, I pray God that he may have you in his worthy and holy keeping.

"Your Majeſty's good Brother,

"NAPOLEON."

From my Imperial Camp at Gera, Oct. 12, 1806.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Napoleon at Berlin.—Meets with an Egyptian Lady.—Ridiculous Print of the Royal Ruſſian and Pruſſian meeting over the Tomb of the Great Frederick.—Surpriſe, and haſty Flight of Lord Morpeth, the Engliſh Envoy.—Court Day held by the French Emperor at Berlin.—Conſoles the French Proteſtants.—His ſevere Reprimands to the Pruſſian Courtiers, &c.—Affecting Scene with Madam Hatzfeldt.—French Anſwer to the Senate of Peterſburgh.—Proclamation to the Poliſh Nation.—Surrender of Spandau.—The Corps of Prince Hohenloe, General Blucher, Magdeburgh, &c. ſurrender.—The Emperor of Auſtria compelled to withdraw his Troops from Bohemia.—Hamburgh ſeized by the French.—The Elector of Heſſe Caſſel depoſed.—The French enter Warſaw, and paſs the Viſtula.—Retreat of the Ruſſians.—Proclamation, &c.—Advances of the Army, &c.

ON the 25th the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Potzdam, and took a view of the new palace of Sans Souci. He ſtaid, ſome time, in the chamber of Frederick the Great; the hangings and furniture of which were the ſame as at his deceaſe.

The Emperor, while on his way from Wittenberg to Potzdam, being overtaken by a ſtorm, ſtepped into a houſe belonging to the Grand Huntſman of Saxony, where he was very much ſurpriſed to hear a fine woman mention his name. She was an Egyptian, the widow of a French officer, who had belonged to the army of Egypt. The Emperor ordered her a penſion of 1,200 francs, and offered

to take care of her child. He then obſerved, "It is the firſt time that I have alighted to avoid a ſtorm, and I had a preſentiment that it would be attended with ſome good." It was obſerved, that Napoleon entered the ſame apartment at Potzdam, on the ſame day, and almoſt the ſame hour as the Emperor of Ruſſia, when he viſited Berlin the year before. "The reſult of the celebrated Oath taken upon the Tomb of the Great Frederick, on the 4th of November, 1805," the Seventeenth Bulletin obſerved, "was the battle of Auſterlitz. Forty-eight hours after this event, at that time not dreamed of by the Pruſſian Court, a plate was engraved, and expoſed in all the ſhops, which even excited the ridicule of the peaſants. Here was ſeen the Emperor of Ruſſia, near him the Queen, and on the other ſide, the King raiſing his hand in the act of ſwearing over the Tomb of the Great Frederick. The Queen herſelf, covered with a ſhawl, much in the ſame manner as the London engravers repreſent Lady Hamilton, reſted her hand on her heart, looking at the Emperor of Ruſſia. All this farce was exhibited to inſpire the people with an abhorrence of the French nation," which the Bulletin obſerves, "was ſo much reſpected by the Great Frederick, that he once ſaid, if he were King of the French, not a cannon-ſhot ſhould be fired in Europe, without his permiſſion!"

It was at the ſame time remarked in the Bulletin, "that the remains of this great man were encloſed in a wooden coffin, covered with copper, and placed in a vault, without any ornaments, any trophies of victory, or any diſtinction to recal the memory of his great and heroic actions." It was alſo ſtated, "that Lord Morpeth, the Engliſh Envoy to the Pruſſian

Court, was only six hours distant from the field of battle on the 14th. He heard the firing: a courier informed him that the battle was lost, and in a moment after, he was surrounded by fugitives, pouring in upon him on all sides." He ran away, exclaiming, 'I must not be taken.' He offered sixty guineas for a horse; he obtained one and fled. In the Prussian palaces there was not the least order observed, so that the sword of the Great Frederick was easily found at Potzdam, together with the scarf he usually wore during the seven years war; also, the insignia of the Black Eagle. The Emperor Napoleon took these trophies with transport, saying, 'I would rather have had these than twenty millions.' Then pausing a little, he added, 'I shall send them to my old soldiers who served in the war of Hanover. I shall present them to the Governor of the Invalids; in that Hotel they shall remain."'

On the 28th of October, the French Emperor held a kind of Court day at Berlin. The Envoys of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Porte, were admitted to an audience. He ordered the Turkish Envoy to send a courier to inform his Court of what had taken place, and to declare, that then the Russians should not enter Moldavia, nor undertake any thing against the Turkish Empire. He afterwards received the whole of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, mostly the descendants of French Protestants, whose ancestors took refuge there, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He conversed with the principal persons among these Protestants; "he told them they had a just claim upon his protection; that their privileges and worship should be secured to them."

Count Von Neale, coming into the Hall of audience, the Emperor ſaid to him, "Well Sir, your Ladies wiſhed for war, and they have been gratified; it becomes you to manage your houſhold better." (Letters had been intercepted from the Count's daughter.) "Napoleon (reading theſe letters) will not continue the war, let others carry on the war againſt him." His Majeſty ſaid to Count Von Neale, "No; I will carry on no war -not that I doubt of my proweſs as you have ſuggeſted; but in order to ſpare the blood of my ſubjects which is dear to me. But the good people of Berlin have been the ſacrifice of the war, while thoſe who excited it have left them and become fugitives. I ſhall reduce theſe noble courtiers to ſuch extremities, that they ſhall be compelled to beg their bread." In giving inſtructions to the Civil Adminiſtration of the city, the Emperor ſaid, "I will not ſuffer any windows to be broken. My brother, the King of Pruſſia, ceaſed to be a King from the day when Prince Louis Ferdinand, was bold enough to break the windows of his Majeſty's miniſters. His Majeſty ſhould have ordered him to have been hanged." The Emperor ſaid to Prince Hatzfeldt, "Do not appear in my preſence; I have no need of your ſervices; retire to your eſtates." To the Twenty-firſt Bulletin which contained thoſe traits, a Proclamation was added, in which the Emperor thanked the army; announced his intention to meet the Ruſſians and Pruſſians, and declared he would make no peace with England, till he had deprived her of the means of diſturbing the tranquillity of the continent any more.

It is proper that the Emperor's treatment of Prince

Hatzfeldt ſhould be illuſtrated: it ſeems, that he was abſolutely arreſted a few moments after the audience. He would have been ſent to a military commiſſion, and inevitably condemned to death, as ſome letters from him to Prince Hohenloe, intercepted at the advanced poſts, made it appear, that though charged only with the *civil* government of Berlin, he had given the enemy information of the *military* movements of the French. His wife, the daughter of the miniſter, Schulenburgh, came and threw herſelf at the feet of the Emperor, ſhe thought her huſband was arreſted on account of the hatred Schulenburgh bore to France. The Emperor ſoon undeceived her, and made known to her that papers had been intercepted, proving her huſband had acted a double part, and committed a great crime. The Princeſs attributed this accuſation to her huſband's enemies. "You know your huſband's writing," ſaid the Emperor, "I am going to make you the judge." The intercepted letters were immediately brought and delivered to her. This woman, upwards of eight months gone with child, fainted at every word which diſcovered to her how far the accuſation was founded againſt her huſband. The Emperor was touched with her grief and confuſion, and the anguiſh of her ſoul. "Well," ſaid he, "you have a hold of that letter, throw it into the fire; this document once deſtroyed, I ſhall not be able to get your huſband condemned." This affecting ſcene paſſed near the fire-place. Madam Hatzfeldt did not need to be told, a ſecond time, to burn the letter. Her huſband was ſet at liberty; three hours later, and he would have been ſhot.

Much about this time, the Directing Senate of

Peterſburgh having publiſhed a paper, in which, referring to the laſt years campaign, they ſaid, "it was only the Allies of Ruſſia who were defeated." One of the French Bulletins remarked, that "all intelligent perſons would deſpiſe ſuch a declaration; that it was well known all over Europe; that there is ſcarce a family in Ruſſia out of mourning; and that it is not merely the loſs of their Allies that they deplore. Beſides, the 195 pieces of cannon, then at Straſbourg were not the cannon of the Allies! The 50 Ruſſian ſtandards, hung up in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, are not the colours of the Allies! The crouds of Ruſſians who died in our hoſpitals, or are impriſoned in our towns, were not the ſoldiers of our Allies!"

It being determined by the French to march to Warſaw, the following Proclamation was publiſhed by General Dombrowſki.

"POLES!

"Napoleon the Great! the Invincible! enters Poland with an army of 300,000 men. Without wiſhing to fathom the myſtery of his views, let us ſtrive to merit his magnanimity. 'I will ſee,' he has ſaid to us, 'whether you deſerve to be a nation. I am going to Poſen, it is there that my firſt ideas will be formed reſpecting you.' Poles, it depends then on yourſelves, to exert and to have a country: your avenger, your creator is here. Crowd, from all ſides, into his preſence, as children in tears haſten to behold the father who brings them ſuccour.—Bring to him your hearts—your arms—Riſe every one, and prove to him that you are ready to ſhed your blood for the recovery of your country. He knows that you are diſarmed, he will ſupply you with them. And you, Poles, who have been compelled, by your oppreſſors, to fight againſt your own intereſts, come, aſſemble under the banners of your

country. Soon, called by Napoleon the Great, shall Kosciusko speak to you by his command. In the meantime, receive this token of his high protection. Recollect, that the call he gave you to assemble in legions in Italy, has not deceived you. Those legions, it was deserving the approbation of the invincible heroes of Europe, who gave him the first conception of the Polish spirit, and the Polish character.

"DOMBROWSKI.
"WYBICHI."

At the Imperial Head-quarters, Berlin Nov. 8.

After this, the most surprising success everywhere attended the French arms. Spandau, a fortress capable of holding out many months, surrendered, as it were, without firing a gun. Prince Hohenloe, after many fruitless attempts to escape, was obliged to capitulate, with several thousands of men, being unable to escape the superior celerity of the enemy's movements.

General Blucher was the longest in shifting for himself; he, at length, after successive forced marches took refuge in Lubeck, one of the free Hanse Towns; but, on the 6th of November, the day after he reached there, the French arrived, stormed one of the gates, attacked the Prussians everywhere, pursuing and cutting them down in the houses and churches. A Swedish detachment, at that time in the place, also suffered considerable loss; and General Blucher, and his whole detachment, capitulated.—About the same time, the Prussian General Kliest, the Governor of Magdeburg, gave up that fortress, and a strong garrison, without firing a gun! and the Elector of Saxony formally acceded to the Confederation of the Rhine. In the meanwhile, the Emperor Napoleon, finding himself more certain than

ever of his object, inſtructed the French ambaſſador at Vienna, to demand the evacuation of Bohemia by the Auſtrian army, who was further inſtructed to declare, that the departure of the Archduke Charles for the army, would be looked upon as a declaration of war againſt the French; and, that in this caſe, the ambaſſador would immediately leave Vienna. The Court of Auſtria thought it prudent to comply with theſe terms, and the French were left to purſue their conqueſts without any apprehenſion.

Calamities ſeldom come alone. Hamburgh was next occupied by the French: this was announced by Lord Howick, from the *Foreign* Office, on the 29th of November, as having actually taken place on the 19th, when all Engliſh property being ſeized, the alarm and confuſion may be eaſily conceived. The Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, was the next Sovereign that Napoleon choſe to call to an account. It being thought proper to ſend Marſhal Mortier to Caſſel, the Prince, a marſhal in the ſervice of Pruſſia, demanded permiſſion to march at the head of his own troops, along with thoſe of France; but this was refuſed, it being obſerved, that before the Pruſſians were beaten and diſperſed, he was more deſirous of putting himſelf at the head of the Pruſſian troops, and to inſult the French by all ſorts of provocation. On this occaſion, the French Bulletin portentouſly obſerved, "He will pay for his frenzied conduct by the loſs of his dominions. There is not a principality in all Germany, that has been ſo uniformly the enemy of France as Heſſe Caſſel. For many years its Sovereigns ſold the blood of its ſubjects to England, and gained great treaſures, part of which were ſhut up in Magdeburgh, ready to be

ſhipped for England, and part remitted to foreign countries. It is time to extinguiſh a ſource of unhappineſs to forty millions of people. The Engliſh may yet corrupt certain Sovereigns by means of their gold; but the loſs of their thrones will be the inevitable conſequences of ſuch corruption. On the contrary, the Allies of France will proſper and be aggrandized."

The Thirty-firſt Bulletin ſtates, the priſoners at Magdeburgh, as conſiſting of 20 generals, 800 officers, and 22,000 men. It alſo rectifies the reports concerning the capture of General Blucher's army at Lubeck.

In the Twenty-ninth Bulletin, it was ſaid that the defeat of General Blucher had produced 12,000 priſoners, whereof 5,000 were cavalry. This was a miſtake: there were 21,000 priſoners, whereof 5,000 were mounted cavalry. In conſequence of the above two capitulations, we have acquired, in all, 120 ſtands of colours and ſtandards, and 43,000 priſoners. The total amount of priſoners taken, during the campaign, amounts to upwards of 140,000 men; and the total amount of ſtandards and ſtands of colours, is 250. The number of field-pieces which have been taken from the enemy in the field of battle, and in various engagements, exceeds 800; and the number of pieces of cannon found at Berlin, and in capitulated fortreſſes, exceeds 4,000. General Savary, has gone with his moveable columns towards Roſtock. He ſeized there 40 or 50 Swediſh veſſels, which he immediately ſold.

The Thirty-ſecond is dated Berlin, November 16, and ſtates that the campaign againſt Pruſſia was entirely finiſhed by the capture of Magdeburgh, and

the affair at Lubeck. This Bulletin preſents an account of the Pruſſian army, as it was at the beginning of the campaign, and makes the total number of it to be 145,000 men, of whom not one has eſcaped, they having been all either taken, killed, or wounded. All their colours, and ſtandards, their cannon, baggage, and generals, have been taken. The King of Pruſſia has, at preſent, one regiment at Gros Glogau, where it is beſieged; one at Breſlau, one at Brieg, two at Warſaw, and ſome regiments at Koningſberg, in the whole about 15,000 infantry, and three or four thouſand cavalry.

The Bulletins up to the Thirty-ſixth, are remarkable for nothing more than the mention they make of an armiſtice agreed to between the French and the Pruſſians, but which was not ratified by the Sovereign of the latter; and the ſurrender of Hameln, in Hanover, with 9,000 priſoners, to General Savary.

The Thirty-ſixth is dated Poſen, December 1, and repeats the account of the Duke of Berg having entered Warſaw. The Ruſſian General, Bennigſen, had anticipated the French in the poſſeſſion of this city, and his advanced poſts had taken a poſition along the river Drzura. On the 26th of November, the out-poſts of the different armies fell in with each other, and, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, the French entered Warſaw on the 28th. The Ruſſians retreated over the Viſtula. This Bulletin ſays, "that it would be difficult to deſcribe the enthuſiaſm of the Poles, their moſt fervent deſire being to become again a great nation. The powerful abandon their caſtles, and come to implore, with earneſtneſs, the reſtoration of their nation, and offer their children, their fortunes, and all their influence, towards accompliſh-

ing that end. "Shall the Polish throne be re-established, and shall the Great Nation secure for it respect and independence? Shall she recal it to life from the grave? God, only, who directs all human affairs, can resolve this great political question."

The day after this Bulletin was published, namely, on the memorable 2d of December, there was addressed, in the name of the Emperor, to the Grand Army, the following

PROCLAMATION:

Imperial Head-quarters, at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

"SOLDIERS!

"A year ago, at the same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The sacred cohorts of Russia fled, defeated, before you; or surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and the, perhaps, blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the Third Coalition, is the formation of a Fourth to be ascribed. But the Ally, on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his forage, and ammunition, magazines, 280 standards, 700 pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor Warta, the Deserts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting, for a moment, our progress. You have braved all dangers—have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain did the Russians wish to defend the Capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French Eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate, but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of their great Sobieski returning from a military expedition.

"Soldiers! we shall not lay down our arms, until a General Peace has confirmed and secured the power of our Allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies. On the Elbe,

and on the Oder, we have re-conquered Pondicherry, all our poſſeſſions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spaniſh colonies. What right has Ruſſia to hope that ſhe ſhall hold the balance of deſtiny in her hand? What right has ſhe to expect ſhe ſhould be placed in ſo favourable a ſituation? Shall there be a compariſon made between the Ruſſians and us! Are we not then the ſoldiers of Auſterlitz?

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

How little diſpoſed the French, under Napoleon, have been to outrage any kind of religious feeling, appears in their proceedings at fort Czenſtokaw, "where (the Thirty-ninth Bulletin ſtated,) a treaſure was found, conſiſting of a number of valuables, dedicated by the Poles to the Holy Virgin, as the tutelary guardian of the country. This treaſure Buonaparté ordered to be given up to the original proprietors. The French army, at Warſaw, is perfectly ſatisfied with the patriotiſm of the Poles; and this day the city of Poſen, gave a ball in honour of his Majeſty, who was preſent an hour. *Te Deum* was alſo performed, in conſequence of its being the anniverſary of Buonaparté's coronation."

The next piece of news received, was, that the Ruſſians, who had re-croſſed the Viſtula, had re-paſſed that river at Warſaw. The Grand Duke of Berg, in purſuit of them, had taken Praja, and the Emperor Napoleon gave orders to Prince Jerome, to inveſt Breſlau. Marſhal Ney alſo paſſed the Viſtula, and entered Thorn.

The Thirty-ninth Bulletin, dated Poſen, December 7, ſtated "that a courier had arrived with intelligence from the Emperor, that the Ruſſians had declared

war againſt the Porte, that Choczim and Bender were ſurrounded by their troops, that they had ſuddenly paſſed the Dneiſter, and advanced as far as Jaſſy. General Michelſon commands the Ruſſian army in Wallachia. The Ruſſian army, under General Benningſen, had evacuated the Viſtula, and ſeemed inclined to retire into the interior. Marſhal Davouſt had paſſed the Viſtula, and had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters before Praga. His advanced poſts were on the Bug."

CHAPTER XXV.

Napoleon's extenſive Views of Religious Toleration.—Singular Edict for aſſembling Jewiſh Deputies at Paris.—Cauſes that led to this Important Object.—Compariſons made by the French Biſhops between the French Emperor and Cyrus, the Perſian Monarch.—Singular Paſſages from different Mandamuſes.—Civil Writers, &c.—The Power of popular Impreſſions.—Extract from the New Sanhedrin, and Cauſes and Conſequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews.—Queſtions propoſed to the Jewiſh Deputies at Paris.—M. Jacobſohn's Letter to the Emperor Napoleon.—Eſdras, Matthew, and Revelations XIX. compared.—The Objections againſt Jewiſh Emancipation.—Infamous Badges of Diſtinction aboliſhed in Germany.—Degrading Inſcription, &c. at Francfort.—Reflections from a Monthly Publication.—Dr. Gill's Opinion on the actual Reſtoration of the Jews.—The late Anti-Commercial Decree of the French Emperor.

THOUGH the military exploits of the year 1806, and the enſuing campaign in Pruſſian Poland, were equal, if not ſuperior to the preceding campaigns in Germany and Hungary, ſtill one of the political arrangements of the French Emperor, has ever ſince excited the admiration of thinking men in a much greater degree; as the latter is an act, which, according to thoſe who are truly friends to religious toleration, ſurpaſſes all his *victories!* Not ſatisfied with a total reformation of the Catholic church, and the grant of free liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants in France, and, particularly, to the poor

Waldenſes in Savoy, over whom almoſt every other French monarch had held the ſword of perſecution, ſuſpended as by a ſingle thread; Napoleon was not willing that any ſentient, or reaſonable being, ſhould wear the badge of diſtinction or degradation in his enlarged dominions.—Unbiaſſed by any of the antient and ſtubborn prejudices againſt the Jews, ſuch as the notion that they are the objects of divine wrath, he moſt probably conſulted his own underſtanding, and the example of a few enlightened men in France, and upon the continent, who had lately advocated their cauſe with uncommon force and conviction. He found they were capable of being reſtored to ſociety, and fit ſubjects for a political and moral regeneration; and, accordingly, on the 30th of May, 1806, the religious world was ſurpriſed at the decree iſſued from St. Cloud, calling together an aſſembly of Jewiſh Deputies at Paris, under the idea of forming a Sanhedrin.

But, as this was an extraordinary meaſure, and as no Chriſtian Sovereign could ever ſucceed before in any of their attempts to alter the condition of the Jews, it may be neceſſary to trace the cauſes before we proceed to expatiate upon the ſucceſs of Napoleon in this undertaking. The fact is this; his ſurpriſing eſcape from Egypt when the ſeas were nearly covered with Britiſh veſſels; his ſeizure of the reins of government from the graſp of a powerful faction; his elevation to the Conſulate; his victories; his aſtoniſhing eſcapes from the plots of aſſaſſins; the ſeverity of his morals; his tolerating diſpoſition in religion, and the flouriſhing ſtate into which he had raiſed the French Empire; all ſeemed to point him out as a very extraordinary man; a perſon uncom-

monly favoured. With this character, it is not surprising that his subjects should more cordially cooperate with him than any other person; and that they should even flatter this opinion among themselves and others. We are not disposed to justify any extravagant presumption on this head; but if we consider that the peculiar destiny and character of Buonaparté very soon became the language of the pulpits; and, that where plausibility superseded any necessity for flattery, we cannot wonder at the effects that followed. Every one conversant in the history, and the common feelings of mankind, may have observed the frequent instances, when a popular song, or even a tune, has excited the people to acts of enthusiasm; and wrought upon them in a manner as if they had been machines. How much more powerful then must that feeling, or that influence be, that with it seems to captivate the reason, the understanding, the religious opinions of those to whom it is addressed. Accordingly, among the first comparisons which the French bishops made between Napoleon and other great characters of antiquity, they choose that of Cyrus, the King of Persia; who, for the part he took in liberating the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and rebuilding their Temple, was called *God's anointed*, or the Messiah. See Isaiah, chapter the xlvth and 1st. Here, perhaps, it may be said, unhappily, the comparison between Cyrus and Napoleon, was strengthened and borne out by circumstances, that increased almost without intermission. If the first had restored the Jewish Temple, the second had restored the Christian Church. If the first was a fit personage to liberate the Jews

from Babyloniſh captivity, was the ſecond leſs proper to liberate them from the cruel deſpotiſm of that fallen Church, of which Babylon was ſuppoſed to have been only a figure? This is a point that does not admit of a doubt: beſides, thoſe eccleſiaſtics and others, who addreſſed Buonaparté as a favoured and extraordinary perſon, took occaſion to contraſt his good fortune and ſuperiority, with the different character, and the crimes of his enemies. We ſhall give ſome of theſe ſingular effuſions; and, let the reader judge.

In a Mandamus, iſſued by the Biſhop of Orleans, ſo early as February, 1804, alluding to that pride and maritime power, whoſe enormous wealth alone enabled it to organize aſſaſſinations, and ſow the ſeeds of diſcord among kingdoms; he ſays, "A day will come, and this day may not be far diſtant, when the Lord ſhall ſay to them, as he ſaid to the daughters of Sidon, Iſaiah xxiii. *Erubeſce Sidon*, "Bluſh Sidon, for the baſe and contemptible means you have employed againſt your enemies." *Arrogantia ejus et indignatio plus quam fortitudo ejus:* "thy pride and indignation are greater than thy ſtrength." Sovereigns of the ſea, you ſhall deſcend from that lofty throne to which you have been raiſed, merely by the fatal diviſions of a neighbouring nation. *Deſcendent de ſedibus ſuis omnes principes maris.* 'The day will come, when you muſt lay aſide all the ſplendid characters of your glory and proſperity.' *Auferent exuvias ſuas.* 'The ſhips of war, now your boaſt and pride, ſhall, themſelves, be aſtoniſhed at your humiliation.' *Stupebunt naves in die pavoris tui.* The world, witneſs of theſe events, ſhall exclaim in its aſtoniſhment, 'celebrated nation, whoſe power was

dreadful, whose throne was in the midst of the sea; how art thou fallen from the bosom of riches, and the pinnacle of grandeur?' *Quomodo periisti quæ habitas in mari cum habitatoribus tuis, quos formidabant universi.* Ezeck. chap. xxvi. ver. 16, 17, 18. Such are the denunciations of the Holy Spirit, which, by the prophets, were addressed to those proud cities, blinded by the number of their vessels, and the splendour of their riches; and these denunciations belong equally to all nations who abuse their power."

The sentiments thus addressed to the religious opinions of the French people, were not merely those of the moment: new, and more recent occurrences only tended to give them greater weight! In the Third Coalition, "when Austria was the Herald to announce that peace was no longer, the French people were still made confident that they saw the footsteps of the Divinity leading them to new triumphs." Hence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa, accommodating the second Psalm to that event, exclaimed, "The King's of the earth set themselves, and the Rulers take council against the Lord, and against his anointed. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision."

"The nations risen up against us, feel their wounds still bleeding from the late ruinous war: however, we see them again embarking upon a dangerous ocean, where storms and tempests are frequent, and even where they have suffered such calamities. Shocking to rectitude and good faith, regardless of treaties, and in contempt of the peace they have sworn to observe, they suddenly attack their peaceable neighbours, pouncing, like vultures, upon their defenceless prey. 'The God of righteousness and

ſtrength will forſake them, becauſe their ways are not upright. All their means ſhall become weak: they have ſown the wind, and they ſhall only reap tempeſts and ſtorms.' Let us recollect what God has already done for us: he has raiſed up a Hero, whom he has inveſted with courage and ſtrength: he has led him by the hand to ſubdue nations; to put their armies to flight, and to open all their gates before him. Contraſted with the crooked policy of our enemies, what confidence ought we not to feel? They are lying children; children who ſay to thoſe who have eyes, 'See not,' and to thoſe who ſee, 'look not to us for that which is juſt and upright.' They place all their reliance in the gold of thoſe proud iſlanders, who already laugh at their credulity; and they truſt *in thoſe clouds of men, who iſſue from the frozen pole* to inundate our frontiers. But this confidence, which is not of God's ſpirit, ſhall cover them with confuſion."'

The Biſhop of Verſailles, alſo alluding to the alliance of the Confederate Powers with the *Ruſſians*, began his Mandamus, with this apoſtrophe, "The myſtery of iniquity is at length unfolded: but our invincible defenders, and the Hero who leads them, ſhall teach our enemies that he, who reigns in Egypt, is a man and not God. *Egyptus homo, et non Deus.*"

Civil officers and writers, as well as eccleſiaſtics, adopted theſe ſentiments with reſpect to Napoleon, and the leagues formed againſt him. M. Joubert in the ſitting of the Tribunate, September 26, 1805, ſeemed to glance at the final overthrow of the Auſtrian power, in conſequence of its *alliances*, by an alluſion to what he calls the remarkable words

inſerted by the Emperor Charles V. in the famous Golden Bull. *Omne regnum in ſe ipſum diviſum deſolabitur, nam principis ejus facta ſunt ſocii furum*; viz.—"Every kingdom divided againſt itſelf muſt periſh, when its princes ſhall have become the companions of thieves." Iſaiah chap. ii. 23.

Whether all this may be reaſon or rant, is not the queſtion here: the impreſſion that naturally followed, was, that Napoleon having been the political ſaviour of his country, could not be leſs ſo to the Jews; at leaſt, that as a powerful monarch, he was, indeed, very highly favoured by Providence. But the ideas entertained by the Jews themſelves on this ſubject, may be beſt learned from a recent publication of uncommon intereſt, conſidered either as a political or theological treatiſe; *vide*—"The Cauſes and Conſequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews, including Official Documents, and the Final Deciſions of the Grand Sanhedrin; a Sketch of the Jewiſh Hiſtory ſince their Diſperſion; their Recent Improvements in the Sciences and Polite Literature upon the Continent, and the Sentiments of their principal Rabbins, fairly ſtated and compared with ſome eminent Chriſtian Writers, upon the Reſtoration, the Rebuilding of the Temple, the Millennium, &c.; with an Anſwer to the Queſtion, 'Whether there is any thing in the Prophetic Records that ſeems to point particularly to England.' By an Advocate for the Houſe of Iſrael:—*Printed for Jones and Bumford, No. 5, Newgate Street.*

This work we have quoted, becauſe, it appears to contain clearer ideas of the nature of the reſtoration of the Jews, than any that have been hitherto publiſhed. And as to the means by which this great

object, so important to Christians, is to be effected; it appears the opinion lately adopted in France, (viz.; that some powerful monarch would act in the last ages as the agent of the Messiah,") was originally avowed in England long before the French revolution was thought of! As we might not do justice in quoting the work in question from memory, we have taken the liberty to extract a part of the eighth chapter.

"Though it is admitted that the Rabbins acknowledge their Messiah as a powerful triumphant Prince, high in dignity, and celebrated in war; still, it is not less a truth, that some of the soundest Christian commentators on the Revelations, have, at least, expected that the reign of the Messiah on earth would certainly be introduced by some celebrated monarch, some eminent warrior. We cannot say any thing to a third opinion, that this monarch, whoever he may be, will be the Messiah personified; his deputy on earth, his vicegerent, his anointed, his agent; such as Cyrus had been before, but far beyond him in power and celebrity. This persuasion led the learned Mr. Joseph Mede to fix his thoughts upon Gustavus Adolphus, whom he thus speaks of in his "Clavis Apocalyptica."

"'There is now, at length, come from the North, God's avenger of wrongs, to succour afflicted and oppressed Germany; a godly king, happy, and which way soever he turneth, a conqueror; whose prosperous progress is wonderfully speedy. Is not this he whom the Lord of Hosts hath destined to execute the work of the Vial? so I hope and heartily pray: gird thee with thy sword, therefore, O great King, go on prosperously, and bear rule, because of truth

and righteouſneſs, and thy right hand ſhall teach thee marvellous things.'

"Here, it is evident, that the learned commentator made no ſcruple in applying the ſcriptures, underſtood of the Meſſiah, in Pſalm xlv. to a warrior, a temporal king, who ſeemed engaged in promoting the cauſe or intereſt of Chriſt againſt the anti-chriſtian power of the Houſe of Auſtria. He chaſtiſed that arrogant Houſe, and procured ſeveral eſſential benefits for the Proteſtants in the Treaty of Weſtphalia. But Gu avus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was by no means the *man* deſtined by the Lord of Hoſts to execute the work of the Vial of Wrath upon the ſun of the anti-chriſtian kingdom.

"It is not only conſiſtent with ſcripture, but reaſon alſo ſuggeſts, that military means may be equally as neceſſary to demoliſh an offenſive ſyſtem of policy, civil and eccleſiaſtical, namely, the anti-chriſtian, as other military agents had been before to eſtabliſh it.

"Hence, a perſon who has made ever ſo ſmall a progreſs in the ſtudy of prophetical analogy, or of moral relations, will eaſily admit the propriety of a remark, made thirty years ago, viz. 'That the angel, which in Revelations xix. 17, is repreſented as *ſtanding in the ſun*, ſignifies ſome perſon who ſhall then be poſſeſſed of an *imperial crown*.'

"This author, however, viewed the immortal Frederick of Pruſſia, as one of the greateſt ſcourges to the Houſe of Auſtria, becauſe Frederick alſo 'reſembled Moſes in many reſpects, as a legiſlator, a prince, and a general.'

"Reſpecting the particulars of the Hero's character, for whom the great taſk of extinguiſhing the myſtical

empire of anti-chriſt was reſerved, this author thought 'he would be one, untainted with vice, yet loaded with reproach; of ſingular moderation, yet accuſed of ambition; of the higheſt dignity, yet condeſcending to the meaneſt; in a word, one of invincible fortitude, *ſupported by the God of heaven*, and whoſe heart glows with the love of truth, of liberty, and of mankind.'

"The exploits of the great Frederick of Pruſſia were certainly uncommonly ſurpriſing: he had ſurmounted innumerable obſtacles, and vanquiſhed the Ruſſians, the Auſtrians, and a hoſt of foes; but, as the writer juſt quoted, did not live to ſee army after army, kingdom after kingdom, and emperor after emperor overthrown, by a greater than Frederick, it is certain, that, though right in the principle of applying theſe characters in the prophetic writings, he was only wrong in the perſon to whom he applied them.

"The introduction of the Millennium by ſome diſtinguiſhed human character, or agent of the Meſſiah, ſeems very clear, according to Eſdras, in the thirteenth chapter, which may be compared with the nineteenth of the Revelations.

"There is alſo a moſt ſingular degree of conformity between the thirteenth chapter of Eſdras, and the twenty-fourth of Matthew. At the time here ſpoken of by Eſdras, it is ſaid "the Moſt High ſhall aſtoniſh the hearts of thoſe that dwell upon the earth:" one ſhall prepare to fight againſt another, city againſt city, place againſt place, nation againſt nation, and realm againſt realm. See alſo Matthew, xxiv. 7. Thus, again, in the Revelations, it ſeems the kings of the earth were to gather themſelves to the battle

of the Great Day, and to make war againſt the Lamb, or his cauſe, which is the ſame. This cauſe, however, and the earthly power that takes it up, ſhall proſper, becauſe we are told he is Lord over all other lords, and King over all other kings, and they that are with him, viz. in his intereſts, *are called, and choſen, and faithful.* Revelations xvii. 14. The nineteenth chapter of Revelations ſeems, therefore, to beſtow the ſame epithet upon this mighty agent of the Meſſiah as was formerly beſtowed upon Nebuchadnezzar, who, for his power alone, was alſo called *King of kings.* Of him, alſo, it was ſaid, "whom he would he ſet up, and whom he would he put down." The character, therefore, deſcribed in this chapter cannot be *Chriſt in perſon*, as moſt of the commentators have hitherto ſuppoſed; becauſe, as the office of an executioner is inconſiſtent with the ſupreme dignity of ſovereigns, who uniformly commit the puniſhment of the guilty to their inferiors, their agents, or vicegerents: therefore, the high character in Revelations xix. is a deputy, a warrior, a mighty potentate, and yet an agent in the ſervice of God, to ſlay, with the ſword, to make a fort, and caſt a mount againſt (the myſtical) Babylon of the New, juſt as Nebuchadnezzar had done againſt the literal Babylon of the Old Teſtament. And thus it may be ſaid that what Providence deſigns to do by the Meſſiah, being done by agency, may be properly ſaid to be done by the Meſſiah himſelf, agreeable to the known rule in logic. '*Qui per alium facit, facit per ſe*,' viz. 'That which is cauſed by another is done by the perſon who cauſed it.'

"Beſides, as the Myſtical Babylon, or ſyſtem of

anti-chriſtian tyranny, was eſtabliſhed by a ſuperſtitious clergy, aſſiſted by the rulers of kingdoms, ſupported by ſecular eſtabliſhments, and numerous armies, it was neceſſary to contend againſt and remove this enormous power by the ſame means which had been uſed to eſtabliſh it: and as all the wars carried on by the anti-chriſtian party were *unjuſt*, and only in the cauſe of iniquity, he, who in Revelations xix. is ſuppoſed to lead the armies of heaven, (belonging to, or appointed by heaven) is ſaid *to make war (juſtly, or) in righteouſneſs*. His eyes, therefore, it is ſaid, were as a flame of fire: viz. his diſcernment was acute and penetrating to the higheſt degree. *And he had a name*, an appointment *written*, or pre-deſigned for him, *that no man knew but himſelf: and he was clothed in a veſture dipped in blood*; his victories and conqueſts had become his principal ornaments: *and his name*, his character, *is called the Word*, or Manifeſtation of the power of God; and that high deſtination, or appointment, *was written* was apparent, *upon his veſture and his thigh*, in the external appearance of imperial dignity. *And the armies which were in heaven*, in the heaven or ſphere of ſupreme power and authority, *followed him upon white horſes*, (the harbingers of peace and happineſs) *clothed in fine linen, white and clean*.

"*And, beſides theſe armies*, (and their weapons) *out of his mouth goeth a ſharp ſword*, (the law of juſtice,) that with it he ſhould alſo ſmite the nations. Revelations xix.

"Conſiſtent with this idea, it is ſaid in Eſdras xiii. 'And this, my ſon, ſhall rebuke the wicked inventions of thoſe nations, which, for their wicked life, are fallen into the tempeſt; and without any labour,

(extreme toil or exertion,) will he deſtroy them, even by the law, which is compared unto the fire.'

The Jewiſh Deputies having aſſembled at Paris at the appointed time, viz. July 15th, 1806, they were met by the Emperor's commiſſioners, who, after an introductory ſpeech, put the following queſtions, requring them after due deliberation, to anſwer each ſeparately and fully:

I. "Is the Jew permitted to marry more than one wife?

II. "Is divorce permitted by the Jewiſh religion?

III. "Can a Jeweſs intermarry with a Chriſtian, or a Chriſtian female with a Jew? or does the law preſcribe that Jews alone ſhould intermarry?

IV. "Are the French, in the eyes of the Jews, brothers or aliens?

V. "What, in all caſes, are the connexions which their law permits them to maintain with the French who are not of their relig on?

VI. "Do the Jews, who were born in France, and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, conſider France as their native country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they under an obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code?

VII. "Who are they who are called Rabbins?

VIII. "What civil juriſdiction do the Rabbins exerciſe among the Jews? What power of puniſhment do they poſſeſs?

IX. "Are the mode of chooſing the Rabbins, and the ſyſtem of puniſhment, regulated by the Jewiſh laws, or are they only rendered ſacred by cuſtom?

X. "Were the Jews forbidden by their laws to take uſury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this of ſtrangers?

XI. "Are thoſe things proclaimed which are forbidden to the Jews by their law?"

About the ſame time as theſe documents appeared in an Engliſh tranſlation, another Work was publiſhed, as "The Tranſactions of the Pariſian Sanhedrin," which title was a fallacy; for, inſtead of giving the deciſions of that Sanhedrin, &c. as they actually appear in the Work we have before referred to, it concludes with the breaking up of the Aſſembly of the Deputies, ſome time before the Sanhedrin was convened! It is not only faulty in this reſpect, but apparently ignorant of every principle of civil and religious liberty; it abuſes both the Jews who accepted, and the Sovereign who preſented them with theſe new privileges. In fine, as the writer would make the emancipation of the Jews, a mere contrivance to obtain money, the following Letter from M. Jacobſohn, to the Emperor of the French, was ſuppreſſed!

"SIRE,

"Penetrated with ſentiments of the moſt profound veneration, and filled with that admiration which thoſe extraordinary men always excite, who, at different periods, are choſen by the Eternal to ennoble the human race; I approach your Majeſty's throne with all that confidence the great actions with which you have cauſed the aſtoniſhed world to reſound, are calculated to inſpire.

"I have not the happineſs to be numbered among the people for whoſe advantage you ſacrifice all the moments of your life. I belong not to that happy country, to which you have called back peace. I am one of the unfortunate Jewiſh People againſt whom ignorance and

ſuperſtition have leagued, in order to degrade them, and render them the opprobrium of every other nation: but the Lord of Hoſts has choſen you to give happineſs to the world, and the Jews are a part of that world. I belong to that people whoſe miſery has, for more than a thouſand years, in vain implored the compaſſion and the humanity of Sovereigns—to that people who expected in you their Saviour, and who, in you, Sire, have found him!

"I have conſtantly endeavoured to promote the happineſs of my countrymen by civilizing them; and my efforts have been crowned with the happieſt ſucceſs. I have, at laſt, been able to intereſt ſeveral German Princes in favour of the Jewiſh People. I have obtained for my unfortunate brethren the abolition of an infamous tax. I have eſtabliſhed, at my own expenſe, an Inſtitution for the Inſtruction of Jewiſh children, and in which there are at preſent more than twenty Chriſtian children. Now, however, I place no limits to any hopes, ſince I have the happineſs to raiſe my ſuppliant voice to the throne of your Majeſty.

"Deign, Sire! to extend your beneficient views to the Jews who inhabit the countries adjoining to your vaſt Empire. If you confine your benefits to that part of my brethren, who are among your Majeſty's ſubjects, how much will ſtill remain to be deſired! How will it be poſſible to ſurmount the obſtacles which the difference of the French adminiſtration, and that of other ſtates, will place between them and us? The commercial relations of France and Germany require a conſtant intercourſe between the Jews of theſe countries; but what Jew, inhabiting your ſtates, would degrade the title of French citizen by the humiliations and vexations which the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in Germany would make him experience? would he chooſe his ſpouſe among a people rendered infamous by the laws of the country they inhabit?

"How great and sublime is the enterprise of breaking the chains of a people unjustly oppressed! who, but a god, can hearken to their complaints, and deliver them from an insupportable bondage?

"The Princes of Germany do not oppose the accomplishment of this grand work: on the contrary, it is the object of their wishes; they are anxious to ameliorate our condition. We groan under the operation of ancient laws, dictated by barbarism, and which prejudice only could have maintained until the present day.

"The German Jew would be happy were he permitted to earn his bread honestly, to enjoy the common right of protection which governments owe to their subjects; and were there given to his worship a practical form which, without deviating from his own law, would accord with the exercise of all the duties of citizenship.

"But, to attain this object, it would be necessary.

1. "To establish a Sovereign Jewish Council, presided over by a Patriarch, residing in France.

2. "To class all the persons, professing the Jewish faith, according to the districts they inhabit, with a Synod to each; which, under the superintendance of the French Government, and the Sovereign Jewish Council, should decide on all affairs connected with worship, and should appoint the Rabbies.

3. "To authorise the said Sovereign Council to supply each Jew with the necessary expences for enabling him to fulfil the duties of a citizen in every country.

"These means, Sire! appear equally certain and indispensable. Only break the political and ecclesiastical chains, which confine the Jews to a state of slavery, and you will soon see them aspire to the dignified character of other nations. Then shall we emulate our ancestors, who changed the barren rocks of Palestine into delightful gardens, and covered them with the richest harvests. Then shall we be worthy of bearing the same name as those heroes, who planted their victorious standards on the banks

of the river Jordan, with the same hands with which they guided the plough and shuttle.

"M. JACOBSOHN."

Those persons, such as are generally the advocates for those in power, and who raise an alarm even against the reform of abuses, which reform they commonly brand with the odium of sedition or innovation, thought, with respect to the Jews, that the latter stood in need of no fresh indulgence or privileges!—They did not even suppose the tolls levied upon Jews, in several parts of Germany, in the same manner as they are levied upon cattle entailed either indignity or disgrace: though independently of these tolls, the Jews, in many parts of the continent, were even treated with barbarity. For instance, those of Francfort, were confined, by compulsion, to one particular quarter of the city, called, the *Juden Gass*, or Jew's Street. Increasing population rendered their situation highly inconvenient; consequently, their habitations exhibited a scene of disease and filth scarcely to be imagined: from sunset to sun-rise, they were shut up in their quarter. The public gardens, and the walls of the ramparts were forbidden to them; and no longer since than August, 1806, the following inscription disgraced a public walk in a Christian city! "*Jews and swine are not admitted here!*" The late measures, set on foot by Napoleon, have made all the alteration that could be wished for at Francfort. The Jews there occupy the best houses in every quarter of that city, just as their wealth or convenience may induce them.

That all the Emperor Napoleon's measures are perfectly agreeable to the whole of the Jewish body,

is not contended for. The Rabbins, from the firſt, were extremely unwilling to ſanction the marriages, that in France, are performed before a magiſtrate, as they probably thought, that by throwing obſtacles in the way of this meaſure, they ſhould prevent what they deem an unlawful union between Jews and Chriſtians; and, that in conſequence of intermarrying, they ſhould at length ceaſe to be what they have wiſhed, a *ſeparate people*, a nation within a nation. However, if ſuch be the change which the Great Napoleon meditates for theſe people in France, Spain, Italy, and the greateſt part of the continent, it is not likely they will be in a condition to counteract his deſigns. Hitherto, their general habits of life, have encouraged and promoted an inclination to keep themſelves diſtinct, even beyond the conſiderations dictated by their religion. Their religion, ſo far as it does not oppoſe the good of the ſtate, it does not appear to be the wiſh of the Emperor to interfere with. With their way of life, however, he is by no means ſatisfied. The laſt Decree iſſued concerning them, will not admit them, indiſcriminately, to purſue their ſpeculations, and excuſe themſelves from honeſt labour. To partake of the fruits of the earth in his large dominions, they muſt alſo *till the ground*. The rich are called upon to purchaſe rural property, and to abandon the low purſuits of ſordid avarice, too often the means of ill-gotten wealth, obtained at the expenſe of thoſe leſs fortunate or wary than its poſſeſſors; and the reſults that belong to it, we believe, are ſuch that no well wiſher to mankind in general need to regret.

But, as this is rather more of a religious than a political ſubject, we have borrowed the late Decree,

and the reflections that precede and follow it, from the Miſcellaneous Department of one of the ſoundeſt and moſt conſiſtent publications of the day*. Speaking of the French Emperor, it is obſerved, "The golden image of hoſtile commerce, which we had ſet up, and long ſince, by our own example, taught all nations to worſhip, he ſtill ſeems determined to pull down: though he cannot reach its heart, he ſeems moſt effectually ſmiting it upon its feet of iron and clay," and may thus effect its fall. So far now as he compels the nations of the continent to ſuffer all the privations his intereſt require, he may be ſaid to "rule them with a rod of iron."—Still, the bitter cup which he pours out to them, in return for that full of "the wine of fornication," may, afterwards, prove a wholeſome corrective. In this view, he does not ſpare his own people: he ſeems determined to drive the Canaanite; viz. the merchant, out of the land; for, even with reſpect to the Jews, he may be ſaid, "not to regard their ſilver, and as for gold he taketh no delight in it." Two years have nearly paſſed ſince the Sanhedrin firſt met: and it is intimated, that the Emperor has not ſeen that reformation among thoſe people which he expected; viz. that they ſtill purſue uſury and ſpeculation, in the room of honeſt labour and fair dealing; he has, therefore, prohibited them from any concerns in commerce, or what is called ſpeculation, for ten years to come; and, even makes it a privilege for any Jew, in the meantime, to ſettle in France or Italy, without giving three months notice, and bringing a character, that he is no uſurper! &c." This

* Vide, the New Series of the Goſpel Magazine and Theological Review, for April, 1808, page 177.

moral reformation, or preparation, will certainly go further towards the *real* reſtoration of the Jews, than any ſtep that has hitherto been taken: and, among all the erroneous opinions that have been broached concerning theſe people, it appears, now, that the learned Dr. Gill had the cleareſt views of their real *actual* reſtoration. He declared, when the famous Naturalization Bill paſſed, in 1735, that it would not ſtand; that the time was not come for the event expected; and that they (the Jews) muſt, as he expreſſed it, "be ſpiritualized before they could be naturalized." That great Divine, probably, ſaw, that the baſe and ſordid habits of the Jews, (habits which the profligate governments, who have ſtood in need of their money, had encouraged) muſt be changed before they could receive either moral or religious impreſſion; and, that, before they could riſe with the true Chriſtian, and "ſet their affections on things above," (above in point of excellence) it would be as neceſſary for one part of the prophecy to be fulfilled concerning them as another: here it is declared—"Their land is full of ſilver and gold, neither is there any end of their treaſures: but, when the day of the Lord (or his viſitation) ſhall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and when he will puniſh the hoſt of the high ones that are upon the earth; in that day a man ſhall caſt his idols of ſilver and gold to the moles and the bats." Iſaiah ii. &c. Which love of money (ſince an apoſtle has defined covetouſneſs to be idolatry) is not to be underſtood of the external worſhip of gold and ſilver images. In the real reſtoration of Iſrael, the privilege of every man poſſeſſing his own vine and his own fig-tree is alſo promiſed; but, having no country,

this they could not do: now, provided they embrace an agricultural life, this privilege they may, almoſt literally poſſeſs, under the French Emperor; "and who ſhall make them afraid?" It will, in ſhort, be ſeen, by the following Decree, that Napoleon is determined to change their habits and purſuits, by inuring them to honeſt labour, inſtead of their former practices of traffic, ſpeculation, and a vagabond life. They, becauſe they are rich, he will not allow to find ſubſtitutes for the Conſcription; otherwiſe, by that means, they would ſtill continue, like privileged Quakers, and others, elſewhere, to ſhare in the benefits of the ſtate, without partaking of ſome of its heavieſt burdens; viz. the expoſure of life and limbs for its ſervice. This is certainly a hard meaſure to be ſuddenly adopted, but no honeſt man can ſay it is not a juſt one.—However, the document may better explain the particulars.

"An Imperial Decree, of the 17th of laſt month, has ordered the execution of the meaſures determined on at Paris, in December laſt, reſpecting the Jews.—It annuls all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the ſanction of their guardians—to married women, without the conſent of their huſbands; or to military men, without the authority of their ſuperior officers. Bills granted by French ſubjects, to Jews, cannot be demanded, unleſs their holders prove that the full value was given without any fraud. All debts accumulated by intereſt, above five *per cent.* are to be reduced by the courts of law; if the intereſt growing on the capital exceed twenty-three *per cent.* the contract is to be declared uſurious. After the 1ſt of July next, no Jew will be allowed to trade without a patent, renewable an-

nually; this patent the Prefects are not to grant to any individual until he produce a certificate of his character, teſtifying that he is no uſurer. No Jew, not actually ſettled in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, can be admitted to a domicile there: in the other departments the Jews cannot be allowed to ſettle, except upon condition of their purchaſing rural property, and abandoning commerce; the Emperor may, however, grant to individuals exceptions to this law. The Jews of the Conſcription are required to perform perſonal ſervice, and are not allowed to find ſubſtitutes. Theſe regulations are to be continued only during ten years, in the hope, that, after that period, there will be no difference between the moral character of the Jews and other citizens of the Empire. If the contrary ſhould appear, the law will be continued in force.

"Buonaparté has had the following return made to him of the number of Jews in all the different parts of the habitable globe; viz. in the Turkiſh Empire one million; in Perſia, China, and India, on the Eaſt and Weſt of the Ganges, three hundred thouſand; and in the Weſt of Europe, Africa, and America, one million ſeven hundred thouſand; making, in the aggregate, a population of three millions. One third of this number, the moſt enlightened, if not the wealthieſt, are already under the dominion of the French Emperor."

To the praiſe of ſome of the Jews in France, there are three departments, which are excluded from the operation of this anti-commercial Decree, viz.; thoſe of Bourdeaux, the Gironde, and Landes.—But, here, the majority of them are ſuppoſed to be cultivators or farmers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Ruſſian Coſſacks.—Battle of Pultuſk.—Of Pruſſian Eylau.—Peace offered to England.—Spaniſh Troops aſſembled on the Elbe.—Surrender of Dantzic.—Deciſive Battle of Friedland.—The Meeting of the Three Sovereigns at Tilſit.—Conference on a Raft, &c.—The French Guards treat the Pruſſian and Emperor of Ruſſia's Guards with a Dinner.

SEVERAL new ſituations were deſcribed after the war had been transferred into Poland: the face of the country, the people, the roads, all appeared novel. The Ruſſian Coſſacks were deſcribed as a ſcandal to human nature, the moſt wretched and cowardly beings in exiſtence. They are ſaid to have paſſed the river Bug, and violated the Auſtrian territory every day, to plunder a houſe in Gallicia, or to compel the inhabitants to give them brandy, which they drank with great avidity.

After the French cavalry were uſed to their mode of attack, notwithſtanding their numbers and hideous cry, they uſed to await them without alarm, as it was well known that 2,000 of theſe wretches were not equal to a ſquadron of the French cavalry. Even the winter, ſevere as it was, did not put a ſtop to the operations of Napoleon. On the 26th of December, after ſeveral preceding ſkirmiſhes, the battle of Pultuſk was fought, on which day the Ruſſians were defeated with the loſs of 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and priſoners, beſides 80 pieces of can-

non. The French admit their own loſs to have been 800 killed, and 2,000 wounded, including in the latter ſeveral generals. After this battle, the Ruſſians fell back to Oſtrolenka, about fifty miles North-eaſt of Warſaw. Pultuſk, where the battle of the 26th was fought, is about midway between theſe two places.

One of the next Bulletins ſtated, that, "Eighty-four pieces of cannon, taken from the Ruſſians, were ranged before the Palace of the Republic at Warſaw. They are thoſe which were taken from Generals Kaminſki, Bennigſen, and Buxhovden, in the battles of Czarnowo, Naſielſk, Pultuſk, and Golymin; and are the very ſame that the Ruſſians drew along the ſtreets of this city with ſo much oſtentation, when they lately marched through them to meet the French. It is eaſy to conceive the effect which the ſight of ſo grand a triumph muſt produce upon a people delighted with ſeeing the humiliation of enemies who have ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed them.

"Five thouſand priſoners have been ſent to France, 2,000 eſcaped in the moments of confuſion, and 1,500 have entered among the Poliſh troops.

"Thus, have the battles with the Ruſſians coſt them a great part of their artillery, all their baggage, and from 25,000 to 30,000 men, killed, wounded, or priſoners."

It would be tedious to detail the circumſtances of all the advantages which reſulted to the French from the ſuperiority of their movements and addreſs. Nothing of unuſual conſequence occurred till the affair at Pruſſian Eylau, on the 7th and 9th of February, which are thus briefly extracted from the French Bulletins.—They ſtate as follows: "From the 5th

to the 7th of February, 1807, there have been, between the two armies, ſeveral obſtinate battles, which terminated by the retreat of the enemy to the other ſide of Eylau, where our troops took up a poſition. On the 8 h, at day break, the enemy began the attack, a dreadful cannonade took place on both ſides, the Ruſſian army, ranged in columns, was within half cannon ſhot: every ball told.

"The Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the cavalry, fell upon the hoſtile army. Two lines of Ruſſian infantry were broken; two ſquadrons of the guards twice traverſed the whole army of the enemy. This brilliant and incredible charge, which had hewn down more than 20,000 of the enemy's infantry, would have inſtantly decided the victory, had it not been for a wood, and ſome difficulties in the ground. The loſs of the enemy is immenſe—ours is conſiderable. Three hundred mouths of fire vomited death, from one ſide and the other, for twelve hours. The victory, for a long time uncertain, was at laſt ours.

"The enemy retired beyond the Pregel. Marſhal Augereau is wounded by a ball. Our loſs amounts to 1,900 killed, and 5,700 wounded. Seven thouſand Ruſſians were counted on the field of battle. Thus the offenſive expedition of the enemy, which had for its object to bear down upon Thorn, by turning the left wing of the Grand Army, has been of the moſt direful conſequences to them; 12 or 15,000 priſoners, as many killed, 18 ſtandards, and 45 pieces of cannon, are the trophies, for which we have paid too dear, without doubt, by the blood of ſo many brave men.

"This expedition is concluded; the enemy beaten,

and driven one hundred leagues from the Viſtula. The army is about to reſume its cantonments, and go into winter quarters."

This affair, notwithſtanding the retreat of the Ruſſians was admitted, was ſtill called the *Victory of Eylau*, in this beſotted region, till Lord Hutchinſon declared, as a profeſſional man, "that the victory of Eylau, was no victory to the Ruſſians, who were generally unſucceſsful, and unequal to the French in generals, in diſcipline, and every requiſite excepting courage."

But the circumſtance which ſhould have put the queſtion beyond a doubt, was, that the French ſtill kept the field; for, it was the next Bulletin, dated Pruſſian Eylau, and Landſberg, that repreſented the French Grand Army retreating towards the Viſtula, and the expediency of going into winter quarters for covering the line of that river. It alſo appeared, that the Ruſſians had retired behind the Pregel, "beyond which the French had no intereſt in purſuing them."

Afterwards, a ſmart affair took place on the 16th, on the upper part of the Bug, between Marſhal Lannes's diviſion (then under the orders of General Savary,) and that of the Ruſſian General Eſſen; when the Ruſſians loſt eight pieces of cannon, two ſtandards, 1,200 priſoners, and left the field of battle covered with dead. The diviſion of Lefebvre defeated a Pruſſian corps on the 12th, the remains of which effected its retreat to Dantzic.

About the beginning of March, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had taken place. The whole of the French army was in cantonments. It occupied a line from Braunſberg to the Omelew, extending through Leibſtadt, Guttſtadt, Allenſtein, and Neidenburg. It was pro-

viſioned chiefly, by the towns of Elling and Braunſburg, and by the produce of the fertile Iſland of Nogat. The Ruſſian army was concentrated on the ſide of Bartenſteine, and on the Alle; the Pruſſian diviſion on the ſide of Creutzbourg.

The inveſtment of Dantzic was completed ſoon after, when the communication between that city and the ſea was cut off. A Pruſſian out-poſt was ſurpriſed and routed, with the loſs of ſeveral priſoners. In the evening, a ſtrong corps from the garriſon attempted, but unſucceſsfully, to retake the poſt from which they had been expelled in the morning. In this effort, the Pruſſians loſt ſeveral hundred priſoners, and ſome artillery.

The meſſage of Buonaparté, dated from Oſterode, and laid before the French Senate, contained an order for calling out the Conſcription for 1808. The reaſon given in the meſſage is, that "all the nations round are arming; England has again ſet on foot an extraordinary levy of 200,000 men. Other powers, as well as England, are adopting the meaſure of extraordinary levies."

In another part of the Meſſage, it is ſtated, "We offered peace to England before the Fourth Coalition had ſhewn itſelf: *the ſame peace we offer to England ſtill.*"—It likewiſe ſtates, "We are ready to conclude a peace with Ruſſia, upon the ſame conditions as were ſigned by her negotiator, but which were rejected in conſequence of the arts and intrigues of the Engliſh. We are ready to reſtore to the eight millions of the inhabitants whom we have conquered, their tranquillity, and to reſtore to the King of Pruſſia his capital."

While Napoleon, and Prince Jerome, were employed in counteracting and annoying the enemy in Poland and Silesia, Marshals Lefebvre and Mortier, were not less active against Dantzick and Swedish Pomerania; but it was to no purpose that the French Emperor explicitly avowed his reluctance in carrying on a war against the Swedes; their monarch would listen to no terms; hence, the loss of Pomerania, and, probably, the whole of his dominions.

From the French Bulletin, dated Finkenstein, April 19, we first learned the following secrets: "In the beginning of May, an army of observation consisting of 50,000 French and Spanish troops, will be assembled on the Elbe. Whilst Russia has assembled in Poland nearly the whole of her troops, there is only a part of the French military force in that country. This, however, is a consequence of the great difference which exists between the essential strength of the two countries. The 500,000 Russians, which the writers of newspapers made to march to the right and again to the left, only exist in their papers, and in the imagination of some readers, who are the easier misled, by being shown the immense extent of the Russian territory, without the least mention of its extensive deserts and uncultivated districts.

"It is said, that the guards of the Emperor of Russia have reached the army: they will see, on the first meeting, whether the Imperial guard is annihilated, as the enemy's generals have assured. That guard is now more numerous than ever, and almost double the number it was at Austerlitz."

In the latter end of May, the surrender of the important city of Dantzick took place, to the sur-

priſe of all military men, who could not account for the neglect of England, in omitting to throw in ſuccours of men or ammunition. The garriſon originally 16,000 men, was reduced to 9,000; however, the Pruſſian General Kalkreuth, who commanded there, obtained very good terms from Marſhal Lefebvre. The Emperor Napoleon, granted a preſent to every ſoldier in the beſieging army. From the moment that Dantzick ſurrendered, all hopes of co-operation on that ſide were loſt; ſtill, the Allies were not yet diſpirited. However, as the battle of Friedland put a full period to every inferior kind of warfare, we here refer to the Seventy-ninth Bulletin of the French Grand Army, dated Wehlau, June 17. The Emperor gave orders to the Grand Duke of Berg, the Marſhals Soult and Davouſt, to manœuvre towards Koningſberg; and with the corps belonging to the Marſhals Mortier, Ney, and Lannes, the Imperial guard, and the firſt corps, commanded by General Victor, he marched to Friedland in perſon. On the 14th, the Emperor reminded his troops that it was the anniverſary of the victory of Marengo. Several engagements near Friedland occupied the morning, in which the Allies were worſted. At five in the afternoon, the whole of the hoſtile corps ſeemed ready for action. The enemy had deployed the whole of his army. His left was ſupported by the town of Friedland, and his right extended a league and a half beyond it. The Emperor, having reconnoitred the poſition, was determined to get poſſeſſion of Friedland; he ſuddenly changed his front, and cauſing the right to advance, he ordered the attack to be made by the extremity of the right wing. At half after five, Marſhal Ney

put himſelf in motion; ſome diſcharges from a battery of 20 pieces of cannon were the ſignal. At the ſame moment the diviſion of General Marchand advanced againſt the enemy, taking their route by the ſteeple of the church. General Biſſon's diviſion ſupported their left. The moment the enemy perceived that Marſhal Ney had quitted the wood, where he had at firſt taken a poſition with his right, they endeavoured to turn him with ſeveral regiments of cavalry, preceded by a cloud of Coſſacks. General Latour Maubourg's diviſion of dragoons formed immediately, advanced to the right in full gallop, and repelled the enemy's charge. In the meanwhile, General Victor ordered a battery of 30 pieces of cannon to be placed in the front of his centre. General Sennermont, who commanded this battery, cauſed it to be moved 400 paces in advance, by which the enemy ſuſtained a dreadful loſs. The different movements made by the Ruſſians, to effect a diverſion, were uſeleſs.—Several columns of the enemy's infantry, that attacked Marſhal Ney's right, were charged with the bayonet, and driven into the Alle. Several thouſands found their death in that river, and ſome eſcaped by ſwimming.

During the time Marſhal Ney's left arrived at the ravine, which ſurrounds the town of Friedland; the enemy, who had here concealed the Ruſſian Emperor's guard in an ambuſcade, advanced with intrepidity, and charged Marſhal Ney's left. This corps was for a moment ſhaken; but Dupont's diviſion, which formed the right of the reſerve, marched againſt the Ruſſian imperial guard, routed them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. The enemy drew ſeveral reinforcements from his centre, and other corps in

reſerve, to defend Friedland. Vain efforts! Friedland was forced, and its ſtreets covered with dead bodies. At this moment the centre, commanded by Marſhal Lannes, was engaged. The effort which the enemy had made at the extremity of the right of the French having failed, he wiſhed to try a ſimilar operation upon the centre; but the charges of cavalry and infantry could not retard the march of our columns; all the efforts of Ruſſian bravery were uſeleſs: they could make no impreſſion, but met death upon the points of our bayonets. The Imperial guard, horſe and foot, and two diviſions of the reſerve of the firſt corps were not engaged. Victory was never doubtful for a moment. The field of battle is one of the moſt dreadful that can be ſeen. It is not exaggeration to eſtimate the number killed, on the part of the Ruſſians, from 15 to 18,000 men. On the part of the French, the loſs does not exceed 500 killed, and 3,000 wounded. We have taken 80 pieces of cannon, and a great number of caiſſons. Several colours are in our hands. The Ruſſians have had 25 generals killed, taken, and wounded: their cavalry has ſuffered an immenſe loſs. Night did not prevent the purſuit of the enemy: he was followed till eleven o'clock. During the remainder of the night, the columns that were cut off endeavoured to paſs the Alle in ſeveral fordable places. On the following day, for the ſpace of ſeveral leagues, we found caiſſons, cannon, and carriages loſt in the river. The battle of Friedland is worthy to be compared with thoſe of Marengo, Auſterlitz, or Jena. The enemy was numerous, had a fine cavalry, and fought with courage. On the 15th, while the enemy was endeavouring to rally and retreat to the right bank

of the Alle, the French army continued its manœuvres on the left bank, to cut the enemy off from Koningsberg. The heads of the columns arrived at Wehlau together; this town is situated at the confluence of the Alle and the Pregel. The Emperor's head-quarters were at Paterswalde.

On the 16th, at day-break, the enemy having destroyed all the bridges, availed himself of this obstacle to continue his retrograde movements towards Russia. At eight in the morning, the Emperor caused a bridge to be thrown over the Pregel, and the army was again in its position. Almost all the enemy's magazines upon the Alle were burnt by him, or thrown in the water: we know, from what remains, the immense loss which has been sustained. In all the villages, where the Russians had magazines, they burnt them during their retreat. We found at Wehlau more than six thousand quintals of grain. The news of the victory of Friedland caused the enemy to abandon Koningsberg. Marshal Soult entered the city, where we have found immense riches; several hundred thousand quintals of corn, upwards of 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, all the warlike stores sent by the English for the Russians, and 150,000 muskets not unpacked. Thus, Providence has punished those who, instead of negotiating with good faith, to perfect the salutary work of peace, have made light of it, mistaking the calmness of the Conqueror for weakness or impotence.—The army here occupies the finest country imaginable. The borders of the Pregel are rich. In a short time the magazines and cellars of Koningsberg and Dantzic, will supply us with fresh means of health and abundance. The enemy recommenced hostilities on the 5th.

We may eſtimate the loſs he has ſuſtained in ten days, and in conſequence of the ſucceeding operations, at 60,000 men, priſoners, killed, wounded, and diſabled. He has loſt a part of his artillery, almoſt all his ammunition, and all his magazines, upon a line upwards of forty leagues in extent. The French armies have ſeldom obtained ſuch great ſucceſs with ſo little loſs.

The following Proclamation was iſſued ſoon after:

"SOLDIERS!

"On the 5th of June, we were attacked in our cantonments by the Ruſſian army. The enemy miſtook the cauſes of our inactivity. He found, too late, that our repoſe was that of the lion—he regrets having diſturbed it. In the affairs of Guttſtadt, Heilſberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland, in a ten days campaign: in ſhort, we took 120 pieces of cannon, 7 ſtandards—killed, wounded, or took, 40,000 Ruſſians—carried of all the enemy's magazines and hoſpitals—Koningſberg, the 300 veſſels that were there, laden with all ſorts of ammunition, 150,000 fuſils, ſent by England to arm our enemies. From the banks of the Viſtula, we have reached the borders of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Auſterlitz the anniverſary of the coronation; you celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the Second Coalition. Frenchmen! you have been worthy of yourſelves and of me. You will return to France covered with laurels, and after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country ſhould live at reſt, ſecure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits ſhall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.

"At the Imperial Camp at Tilſit, June 22."

The Eighty-fifth and Eighty ſixth Bulletins, contain only the accounts of the meeting of the Three

Sovereigns on the Niemen. The conference between the Emperors of Ruſſia and France, took place on the 24th, on a raft on the Niemen. Napoleon, attended by the Grand Duke of Berg, Prince of Neufchatel, Marſhal Beſſieres, Duroc, and Caulaincourt, proceeded to the banks of the Niemen, and went on board the veſſel which was to take him to the raft. The Emperor Alexander, with the Grand Duke Conſtantine, General Bennigſen, Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his firſt Adjutant, General Count Libben, put off from the oppoſite banks. The two veſſels reached the raft at the ſame time. The Emperors embraced on leaving the veſſels, and entered the pavilion prepared for them. Their conference laſted about two hours, and when it cloſed the attendants of the two Emperors were admitted. Both Emperors returned to their veſſels. Another interview took place the following day, on a little iſland in the Niemen, at which the King of Pruſſia was preſent.

On the 27th of June, the Emperor Napoleon exerciſed his foot-guards in firing, in the preſence of the Emperor Alexander; after which the two Monarchs dined together. On the 28th, the King of Pruſſia, accompanied by Marſhal Beſſieres, the Grand Marſhal of the Palace, the Grand Equerry, and ſeveral ſuperior officers of the cavalry, came to pay a viſit to the Emperor Napoleon, who received them at the gate. At four, the Emperor returned the viſit to the King, and invited him to ride; and, taking with him the Emperor of Ruſſia, and the Grand Duke Conſtantine, proceeded with them to review the corps under Marſhal Davouſt. Theſe auguſt perſonages afterwards dined with the Emperor Na-

Alexander I.
Emperor of Russia.

poleon. After rising from table, they passed a quarter of an hour together. The Emperor afterwards accompanied them to the gate of his palace, and they proceeded, on foot, to the residence of the King of Prussia. The Emperor of Russia and the Grand Duke Constantine returned, towards the evening, to the Emperor Napoleon, and remained with him till half after ten at night. The Emperor Napoleon received General Bennigsen, and Prince Kurakin, appointed to negotiate with the Prince of Benevento.

On the 1st of July, it was stated, that "the good understanding between the Three Sovereigns at Tilsit increases every day." The King of Prussia has appointed General Kalkreuth to negotiate for peace. Yesterday the French Emperor's guards treated the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia's life-guards with a dinner. The whole of them, for a short time, exchanged uniforms; and the soldiers were to be seen running cheerfully along the streets, but in good order.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Reflections on the Peace of Tilsit.—Comparison made by Edmund Burke.—Whether Buonaparté is the Hero of ancient Prophecies.—Treaty of Tilsit.—Reflections upon the Consequences of the French Power in the North.—Mr. Sheridan's Observations on the Character of Buonaparté as a General.—Those of another independent Writer.—The Observation of Thucydides, that "there was something divine in the Plague of Athens," applied to the present War.—Its Object, the Reformation of Christendom.—On the political Application of the Term Omnipotence.

THE circumstances that followed the battle of Friedland, and the peace of Tilsit, naturally gave rise to some very singular reflections on this side of the ocean. The intimacy that began upon a raft in the *water*, the most unstable of the elements, it was justly apprehended, would be but too firmly established upon the earth, which is the most durable. It was, also, supposed, that when two men are conferring together on the footing of equality, and one of them known to have a manifest superiority in genius and talents; and when great results were to issue from the conference, it could not be doubted to whose advantage such a conference would redound. If it is considered, that the one was born to an imperial throne, the other ascended one by his own efforts, his own genius, his own talents, aided by the circumstances of the times, the scale could not but preponderate in favour of him who was the founder of a family, against him who was one merely of a family, long cradled in notions of imperial dig-

nity: and it was added, "that as the purple-born Emperor had been soundly beaten by the other Emperor, brought up in the swaddling clothes of poverty, and a very humble station in life, a tolerably good idea might be formed of this imperial conference."

But, though Napoleon had not set foot on the Russian borders, he was very near them. He had not long before driven a king from his palace; and the magnanimous Alexander might justly apprehend, that, if once the French set foot in his proper domains, they would fix a new dynasty on the thrones of Petersburgh and Moscow. The prowess of the Northern troops had been sufficiently tried; and, perhaps, it was not to be regretted that they did not make a better stand. Instead of relenting, it was suggested that the inhabitants of Southern Europe should have rejoiced, to think that the horrid horde of Russians, Tartars, Calmucs, &c. had received a lesson in civilization, and were found incapable of annoying the South, when the people are well disciplined, and conducted by leaders of ability. The French, it was remarked, had first beaten and then treated them; by which means they had a specimen of the difference, after a battle, between a freeman and a slave.

As at Austerlitz, as well as at Jena, Eylau, and Friedland, Buonaparté always entertained the idea, that he was only fighting with the mercenaries, the hired troops of England; and as he well knew that the wealth of the latter was the real sinews of the war, there can be no doubt, but that, while at Tilsit, he made his future *friendship* with the Emperor of Russia depend, from that moment, upon his *enmity* to England. From that moment an interested, if not a

ſolid friendſhip, commenced between the Two Emperors. Alexander interceded for Pruſſia; but, though he took the conquered King to dine with the Victor, (prudently leaving the Queen out of the party,) very little indeed could be obtained for him. If the magnanimous Ruſſian Emperor gave her a full account of the dinner, it was a very different day from that which he ſpent at Berlin, a year before, with his brother of Pruſſia, over the remains of the great Frederick: they no longer talked of the eaſe with which they would drive the French to the extremity of the earth; but, being the gueſts of one greater by far than the Great Frederick ever was, they ſubmitted to the influence of ſuperior talents, ſuperior induſtry, and ſuperior power.

After this great event, it was aſked, What Mr. Edmund Burke would have thought, could he have ariſen from the dead. How could he account for ſuch a change in that France, which he conceived "was blotted out of the map of Europe?" France ſunk to the ground, deprived of its king, its nobles, its clergy, its lawyers, with nothing on its ſurface worthy of notice, had revived, under one man In the ſhort ſpace of one year, under a man whom nobody knew, ſhe had done more than ſhe performed with the beſt born nobles during the long life of the great Louis XIVth. France, it was again obſerved, which the dull or frantic politicians of England had blotted out of the map of Europe, after the conference at Tilſit, gave law and reigned lord paramount. The preſent exceeded the paſt. Speaking of Napoleon, an able and diſcriminating political write obſerved, "The early victories of this wonderful man placed him on a level with the greateſt commanders

this world has ſeen: to whom ſhall we now compare him?" The paſſage of the Alps, and the battle of Marengo; the battle of Auſterlitz, and the campaign which led to it; the battles of Jena and Friedland, with the concluding conference at Tilſit: theſe are battles, and ſubverſions of kingdoms, that, as long as military glory is the theme of general applauſe, muſt elevate the Hero of France high above his predeceſſors in the ſame career. A Louis XV. and a Louis XVI. were greeted with acclamations; but what muſt have been thoſe acclamations, thoſe ſhouts of applauſe, when Napoleon returned to Paris, after accompliſhing what the ambition of Louis XIV. could never conceive! If he is our enemy, we cannot enviouſly pluck from his brow his juſtly acquired laurels. The claims he has on the gratitude of France are undoubted: from the loweſt ſtate of confuſion he has raiſed her to the higheſt pitch of glory.

But is there not ſomething more in theſe exploits than the ſuperficial obſerver acknowledges? This change in the ſtate of Europe, is it not connected with events which may call the attention of all mankind? Without endeavouring to find the Hero in ancient prophecies, as ſome have done,* and we will not ſay they have done it injudiciouſly; without implicitly relying on thoſe, who aſſure us that he is the *man on the white cloud*, in the Revelations, *with a golden crown on his head, and a ſharp ſickle in his hand, to reap the harveſt of the earth:* without committing

* This is an alluſion to "The Cauſes and Conſequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews," quoted in page 393.

ourſelves to declare, that he is the angel of God, commiſſioned for high and important purpoſes, (though it is to be noticed, that the moral qualities of the agent do not prohibit that epithet being applied to him:) whatever he may be, we cannot doubt that, through him, Europe has undergone a great change; and, whatever may have been the coſt of it, the conſequences are ſuch, as will lead the riſing generation to eſtimate themſelves, and their fellow creatures, in a very different manner from what they have been accuſtomed to do for the laſt twelve hundred and ſixty (prophetical) years. One circumſtance (here the freedom of religion eſtabliſhed, in Warſaw, after the peace of Tilſit, is alluded to) is particularly noticed: "Wherever Buonaparté has gone religious intolerance has fled before him. Freedom of religion has been eſtabliſhed by him at home, and it is made a part of the terms of peace with other nations. Poland had been torn to pieces by religious diſſenſions. In that country the reformation was carried further by that eminent body of martyrs, the Poliſh brethren, than Luther and Calvin, and their adherents, would acknowledge. The Poliſh brethren hated tyranny over themſelves, and they would not tyrannize over others. It is not to be wondered at, that Popiſh zeal and barbarity ſhould plot and accompliſh their ruin, and that ſome Calviniſts ſhould rejoice at it; for the Poliſh brethren abominated the cruelty of Calvin, in the murder of Servetus, as much as if it had been committed by Popiſh prieſts. The decree of Buonaparté, by which Warſaw is erected into a dutchy, eſtabliſhes completely the freedom of religion, and the ſucceſſors of the Poliſh brethren may now worſhip, without fear or reſtraint, the God

of their Saviour. The circumſtance of religious freedom ſpringing up from France may juſtly aſtoniſh us.—This country had been, above all others, noted for its cruelty againſt the Proteſtants. The Day of St. Bartholomew, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, preſented ſcenes at which humanity ſhudders. France has nobly wiped away theſe ſtigmas by the freedom in religion, which it has not only eſtabliſhed in its own dominions but has introduced into ſo many other countries on the continent. Spain and Portugal will ſoon feel the effect of this diſpoſition in Buonaparté; and as the Inquiſition has been for ſome time deprived of much of its authority, we may expect to hear it is entirely aboliſhed, and all its trumpery of monks and nuns driven away as completely as it has been done in France. The Engliſh nation will longer retain the prejudice. We did not reform the Calendar, till the ſhame of ignorance forced us into it; and, though we profeſs to be Proteſtants, we ſhall be the laſt, probably, to acknowledge, that a difference in religious opinions is no reaſon for a difference in civil rights; and that there is no connexion between eating bread and drinking wine in a church, with certain ceremonies, and the occupancy of a poſt in the army, the navy, or the law." Thus far the political writer.

It was not till Auguſt 1807 that we obtained a ſight of the Treaty of Tilſit, and that which was alſo concluded between Pruſſia and France. By this Treaty, ſigned at Tilſit on the 9th of July, it is ſtipulated, that the territories to be reſtored to Pruſſia are thoſe which ſhe poſſeſſed ſo far back as the year 1772. She, of courſe, loſes her Poliſh provinces, except a ſmall tract, and is alſo deprived of Weſt-

phalia; which latter territory, with the addition of thoſe already in the poſſeſſion of France between the Rhine and the Elbe, including the Electorate of Hanover, forms a new kingdom, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty acknowledges Jerome Buonaparté a ſovereign, by the title of *King of Weſtphalia.*

To theſe provinces the unfortunate King of Pruſſia renounces all right and title for ever, together with his title to the provinces he cedes in Poland; which are to be formed into a dutchy, under the ſovereignty of the King of Saxony.

His Pruſſian Majeſty, alſo renounces, for ever, his poſſeſſion of the city of Dantzic; and the other parts of the Pruſſian provinces of Poland, not otherwiſe diſpoſed of, are given to Ruſſia. Dantzic is to be reſtored to its former independence, under the protection of the Kings of Pruſſia and Saxony; but its port is to be ſhut againſt the trade of Great Britain during the war.

It is alſo provided, that, until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the dominions remaining to Pruſſia ſhall be ſhut againſt the trade and navigation of Great Britain; that no ſhipment whatever is to be made from any Pruſſian port for the Britiſh iſles or colonies; and that no ſhip from Great Britain, or her colonies, ſhall be admitted into any Pruſſian port.

The King of Pruſſia acknowledges Joſeph Buonaparté King of Naples, and Louis Buonaparté King of Holland. A part of the Poliſh territory, hitherto held by Pruſſia, and next adjoining the Ruſſian boundaries, is for ever to be incorporated with the Ruſſian Empire.

The treaty conſiſts of thirty articles.

The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged on the 12th of July.

It is eſtimated that Pruſſia loſes near five millions of ſubjects, and a third of her revenues. Heſſe, Brunſwick, beſides different parts of the Pruſſian ſpoils on the left bank of the Elbe, are included in Jerome Buonaparté's new kingdom.

"The treaty, which was ſigned at Tilſit the 7th of July, contains twenty-nine articles. The firſt twelve merely repeat, confirm, and ratify, on the part of Ruſſia, the ſtipulations of the Ruſſian treaty, particularly as to the diſpoſal of Poliſh Pruſſia; the allowance of a military road to communicate between Saxony and Warſaw; and the reſtoration of the eſtates of the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin. The Emperor of Ruſſia, as in the Pruſſian treaty, acknowledges Buonaparté's brothers; Louis King of Holland; Joſeph King of Naples; and his Imperial Highneſs Prince Jerome, King of Weſtphalia.—Alexander likewiſe aſſents to the confederation of the Rhine, and to the preſent and future arrangements of Buonaparté; in which, it is to be obſerved, he actually conſents to take a part of thoſe very territories of his own ally, the King of Pruſſia, which he had undertaken to defend! The 13th article is that of the greateſt intereſt to an Engliſh reader. By it 'the Emperor Napoleon accepts of the mediation of the Emperor of all the Ruſſias to negotiate and conclude a definitive treaty of peace between France and England; however, only upon condition that this mediation ſhall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.' The 16th article contains an unimportant ceſſion, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, to the King of Holland; viz. the lordſhip of Jever, in Eaſt Friedland. Four of the articles ſtipulate, that hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe between the Ruſſians and Turks; that the troops of the former ſhall be withdrawn from Moldavia, but not occupied by the troops of the Grand Seignior till after ratifications of a definitive treaty between thoſe powers have been exchanged; and, finally, the Emperor of Ruſſia accepts the mediation of the Emperor of France, to negotiate a peace between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte. The remaining articles eſtabliſh the commercial intercourſe between the different countries, under Buonaparte, on the ſame footing as before the war; regulate the

exchange of prisoners to be in a mass; and fix the ceremonial between the two Courts of Saint Petersburgh and the Thuilleries on the footing of complete equality and reciprocity."

The advantages which the French Emperor obtained by these treaties, which enabled him to hold all the North of Europe, and the shores of the Baltic in his power, till the period of a general peace, are, as yet, incalculable. A year has nearly elapsed, and, instead of diminishing, as some venal and short-sighted politicians have vainly imagined, his power has increased; and, in the summer of 1808, is still increasing. As a warrior we have nearly exhausted all the variety of language that can be drawn from panegyric: we must, therefore, add, from another English writer, "that the man must know Buonaparté's character very imperfectly, who shall consider him only at the head of armies; he has shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field. In a word, he united in his own person, the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and the finances."

Mr. Sheridan, in the session of 1804, also observed, that "for boldness of design, and ingenuity of execution, the campaigns of Buonaparté surpassed any thing attempted since the days of Hannibal." He was a general of whom it might be said, in the words of Cicero, "his youthful knowledge, in military affairs, was not derived from the precepts of others, but the command of his own genius; whose renown arose not from the assaults he sustained, but from his own victories over others, and of whose rewards we hear much less than of his triumphs."

Another writer, whose *independent* principles cannot be questioned, looking back to the victories of Jena and Friedland, and the consequences of the

treaty of Tilsit, observes, "The success of the French arms has been attributed to a variety of causes; but we have traced every step of the French Emperor in the cabinet as well as in the field. If we revolve in our minds the line of conduct he has adopted, these five years past, we may say, "He is Aristippus all over, both in his manner and in his disposition." Equally prepared for every change of circumstances, he is ever energetic, from his firmness, his decision, and promptitude of action. Our opinion is, that, in a short time, he will establish his empire from the Dardanelles and the Hellespont to the Baltic; and that he will be equally obeyed at Copenhagen and Constantinople. He surrenders no implicit confidence to his ministers, he thinks and acts for himself, and thus escapes falling a victim to the imbecility or intrigues of his own servants. The people of France do not trace him to the horse-race, the gaming-table, or trifling with his favourite lady, or superintending the erection of stables: they find him in the cabinet or the field, alternately, as occasion may require, equally displaying the consummate genius of a statesman or a warrior. The history of nations scarcely exhibits a parallel to the talents he is endowed with; and can it be a matter of astonishment, that the stability of the government of such a man should daily acquire additional strength and permanence?"

But this is not all: as Thucydides observed, *there was something divine in the plague of Athens*; so it has been the object of the concluding part of this History to point out *something divine*, a singular interference of Providence in the present war, and the character apparently designed to conduct it to its issue. Mere political speculation has not had, nor can have, any

conception of its causes or consequences. In a religious view, nothing less than the reformation of Christendom seems to be its ultimate object and its primary design. If the thinking and judicious reader can yet have any doubt upon this head, let him consider, that, within the course of the last sixteen years, the ancient kingdom of France has been extinguished, together with the Gallican Church, the Pontificate, the Germanic Empire, the whole support of the hierarchy, both spiritual and temporal; including several Protestant kingdoms and states, which had entered into successive coalitions against France. In the meanwhile, the Roman Church has been radically reformed, all the dominions of the ecclesiastical princes secularized; celibacy, monasteries, and other religious foundations, abolished; the Protestant religion put upon the same footing with the Catholic: and, lastly, the Jews politically and morally restored to the free exercise and enjoyment of all those rights, civil and religious, of which they had, for many ages, been deprived in other countries! We have talked of the omnipotence of parliament, and the adaptation of such an attribute may be allowed, as a figure of speech, for a very great portion of power or influence; but, when we take a retrospective view of the changes that have lately been effected in Europe, and the amelioration that is likely to ensue; when we contemplate the character of the principal Agent, without any abuse of the word, we may assert; that, since OMNIPOTENCE pronounced the commanding fiat "*Let there be light, and there was light,*" this Agent has had neither superior nor equal.

END OF VOL. VI.

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Prince Bagration

Commander in Chief of the Russian Army

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